I Know What I Saw

Assassinations and Terror in America

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2nd Edition

Dedicated to the witnesses

Preface

There is a larger narrative to the events I will discuss in this book. The elimination of JFK brought about escalation in Vietnam and the ascendancy of the intelligence community to the absolute power it enjoys to this day; and whatever was done to Sirhan Sirhan resulted in the murder of Robert F. Kennedy and the presidency of Richard Nixon. Nixon's administration is largely responsible for the political careers of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney, who would go on to become the architects of the War on Terror and

the post-9/11 world we are currently living in. Nixon also developed an insidious state apparatus of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism that became the blueprint for the one we currently have. The Christopher Dorner manhunt and the ensuing events in San Bernardino and Las Vegas show us the ways that state power and its relationship to terrorism have evolved in the past decade based on this blueprint.

We'll start with the CIA's Phoenix Program, which was initiated under Lyndon Johnson by Military Assistance Command Vietnam by directive 381-41 on July 9, 1967. Although it was technically ended in 1973, it lasted in many forms until 1975. The goal was to destroy the political power of the Viet Cong insurgency. It enabled the South Vietnamese government to target the Viet Cong's civil infrastructure and resulted in the indiscriminate detention, murder, and assassination of civilians; random searches and seizures of property; police cordons; "recruiting, political indoctrination, propaganda and psychological operations, intelligence collection."[i] These were smaller police-led operations rather than large military ones. It was a widely criticized operation and a tactical failure on many levels. It supporters stress that it was well-intentioned and was never supposed to terrorize the population, and poor execution led to "abuses." It was the largest counterinsurgency program that the U.S. had ever created at that time.

While we don't know what could've been, we know the way RFK framed the Vietnam War, the communist world, and the idea of counterinsurgency itself, starting as early as 1965, and the way he rhetorically positioned himself in a subtle way against Johnson. For RFK, military escalation in Vietnam was out of the question, as was immediate withdrawal; negotiation was the only way forward. Kennedy also reframed the intentions of communist insurgents, ascribing their intentions more often to liberation and describing America's war of independence as a war of liberation; by this definition, our own founders were "insurgents." Counterinsurgency therefore was a totally different concept to RFK than it was for the military complex; for him, the U.S. must offer insurgents "genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to create a better life for their children," in the words of JFK.[ii]

One of Nixon's major frustrations was the domestic insurgency, namely the left in America, and with this in mind he conceived of the notorious counterintelligence operation that would be known as the Huston Plan, named after his aide Tom Huston who helped him create it. The antiwar movement and the Civil Rights movement had grown to such proportions that they terrified the Nixon administration. These movements had been inevitable outgrowths of the military-industrial complex's own policies, and now Nixon used a repressive array of new tools to neutralize these groups.

Nixon brought J. Edgar Hoover, CIA director Dick Helms, NSA director Noel Gaylor, and DIA director Donald Bennett to the White House and made a demand: "I want to have a full range of options for dramatically expanding our domestic intelligence collection efforts."[iii] Helms worked with CIA counterintelligence head James Angleton to expand their previous mail-opening operation (LINGUAL), and their HUNTER program, which shared some of this correspondence with the FBI, neither of which had been made known to Nixon. The Huston Plan resulted in several operations: expanded mail-opening powers, expanded NSA phone surveillance of U.S. citizens, expansions of the CHAOS program (which infiltrated the antiwar movement), and the rebirth of LINGUAL.

The FBI had been in charge of invasive programs for years; COINTELPRO had been in operation since 1956. But the decisive moment in America's history was when RFK was taken out of the picture, so that the paranoid Nixon in his lust for power could vastly expand and utilize these tools to satisfy his personal anxieties and fears. Once a chief executive seizes these powers, would any subsequent President ever willingly put them back in their Pandora's Box? We can't imagine that RFK would've shared any of Nixon's insecurities or grievances, and his policies would've been based on entirely different priorities. Kennedy's distrust of the CIA is well-known - as Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., recalls, immediately after the JFK assassination his father first asked a CIA desk officer if they had done the deed; he then called Bay of Pigs leader (and Cuban ex-patriate) Enrique Ruiz-Williams and asked the same question; and he then repeated the question to CIA director John McCone.[iv] While Nixon also distrusted the CIA, he longed to control it, to use it as a personal weapon.[v]

Because of this historical trajectory, it is important to me to look closely at the events that shape public policy. What were Oswald's activities just

before, during and after the JFK assassination? Who was Sirhan Sirhan? What happened to him? Who were Christopher Dorner, Syed Farook, Tashfeen Malik and Stephen Paddock, and what was motivating them? These questions will not have complete answers. But the way we ask them will help us understand the unseen political forces that shape our lives. And to understand these forces, we need to understand the individuals who have been caught up in the assassinations and mass shootings that influence policy decisions. The minutiae of these events will reveal, slowly but surely, the methods and tools of the surveillance state that rules over us.

Part 1: Lee Harvey Oswald

Introduction

Here I will examine Oswald's activities during and after the JFK assassination in a timeline format. The timeline covers the two-hour period from before Kennedy was assassinated up to the point that Oswald was arrested at the Texas Theater, from noon to 2:00 on November 22, 1963. I compiled the timeline because I wanted to know exactly what happened, from minute to minute, according to all the relevant witnesses. I couldn’t find exactly what I was looking for in the assassination literature, so I began to do my own research. I had no idea the timeline would grow to the size that it did.

What I couldn’t find anywhere else, even in Mary Ferrell’s excellent chronologies, was a focus on what the witnesses said that they saw – and *when* they made their testimonies. I wanted to know what witnesses said the

day of the assassination, and what they said in the weeks and months following the assassination. I wanted to see how stories were changed, how they stayed consistent, and how they became absorbed into the narrative of the Warren Report.

The timeline includes sources for every statement, and I have tried to tell the reader when and in what context each testimony was given. Obviously the witnesses' memories did not improve with time, and when the Warren Commission interviewed the subjects, it was at least three months after November 22nd (the first interviews began on February 3rd of 1964). The witnesses had been subjected to a media blitz that told them repeatedly that Oswald had acted alone. I do not know what other kinds of pressure they were subjected to.

Warren Reynolds, who witnessed J.D. Tippit's killer leaving the crime scene, was shot in the head in January, two days after telling the FBI that he could not definitely identify the killer. He survived and positively identified Oswald as Tippit's killer when the Warren Commission interviewed him. His memory seemed to have improved after the gunshot to the head. Many witnesses were simply not called to the Commission, and many others were interviewed in such a way that any statements that deviated from the "lone nut theory" were ignored or brushed aside.

I view the reliability of evidence in a sliding scale, from most to least reliable:

1) The Dallas Police dispatches, which were recorded in real time as the police were reacting to the assassination (later transcribed by the Dallas PD for the Warren Commission);

2) The testimonies collected on the 22nd and 23rd, either live on the radio or by the FBI or police;

3) The testimonies collected in the weeks following the assassination;

4) The testimonies collected by the Warren Commission in their investigation, between February and September of 1964;

5) The books written in the years following the assassination, drawing from eyewitness accounts and interviews.

An article by Greg Miller in *Smithsonian Magazine* (May 2010) described some recent research on the way memory works. A 2003 study of 569 New York college students found that, just seven weeks after the attacks of 9/11, 73% of the students incorrectly remembered the event, believing that they had witnessed the first tower falling live on television (it wasn't broadcast live). Karim Nader, a neuroscientist at McGill University, has studied the way that people remember traumatic or important events, and believes that the act of remembering, or describing the event, may change the memory itself. These memories become more inaccurate over time. We should keep this in mind when studying the assassination.

A few insights have emerged from this project. There is the sense of a narrative being aggressively pushed on the public, based on a complex mass of eyewitness statements. This "official" narrative began immediately after the assassination, on the 22nd of November. It was solidified unofficially in the media in the months following the assassination, and officially by Warren Commission, who presented this narrative to the public as a closed case almost a year after the event.

The official story is known to most Americans – a communist sympathizer named Lee Harvey Oswald killed Kennedy by shooting him with three bullets from the 6th floor of the Texas School Book Depository, and then in his escape, he shot and killed a police officer named J.D. Tippit, and was captured in a movie theater. Much of the case against Oswald was assembled as early as November 30, just eight days after the assassination, as we can see in the FBI's massive Gemberling Report (Commission Document 5). The Warren Commission was basically handed a "lone nut" narrative that had been created by the FBI.

I wanted to brush away the cobwebs of the lone nut story and return to the authentic, lived experience of the people who witnessed the events of those two hours. In their statements, the witnesses remind us that events as they actually happened did not fit neatly into the Warren Commission's narrative. A haunting fact comes to us through the haze of history: It is unlikely that Oswald shot anyone that day.

I don't know who shot Kennedy, or who shot J.D. Tippit. But this is clear to me: The story constructed by the FBI and the Warren Commission falls

apart under close scrutiny. Precisely how and why it falls apart will become evident in this timeline.

We can no longer accept the official story. It is simply a pop-culture myth, and nothing more.

As an English teacher, I am interested in the characters who were caught up in this drama while going about their daily lives. The details revealed by these witnesses achieve an accidental poetry to me; their stories have an innocence that is sometimes poignant, sometimes even humorous (Oswald's co-workers racing each other down to the first floor for lunch). The brief moments before the assassination seem idyllic in the horrific light of what followed.

I wanted to recover the humanity of the people involved in the assassination, and the heroism of the witnesses who merely told the truth about what they had seen and heard that day. The fragmentary nature of the witnesses' stories, when juxtaposed, achieve what I think is a fascinating, accidentally postmodern effect. We are reminded that truth is elusive, and it is a hard lesson to learn for those of us who crave certainty. And here I must apologize: there is little certainty to be found in this timeline.

Most of all, in doing this research, I wanted to decipher, as best I could, the enigma that was Lee Harvey Oswald. Because he was taken from us before he could tell his story, and before he could be given a fair trial, we must reconstruct from the fragments what his experience was on that day, as he left the Texas School Book Depository, embarked on his odyssey across Dallas, and was captured in the Texas Theater. I have tried to confront the question, *what was Oswald doing in those two hours*? We can only guess, but we can guess intelligently; and that is the point of this project.

What fascinates me is the fact that at 12:00, Oswald was a harmless warehouse worker on an ordinary day in Dallas. By 2:00 his fate had been sealed, and the country was forever changed. The angry crowd outside the Texas Theater reminded me of Meursault in Camus's *The Stranger*. The whole story of Oswald becomes a paranoid allegory for modern man.

Oswald's odyssey was America's odyssey, and every minute of it is immensely important, because every detail can help us solve the

fundamental mystery of what he really did on that day.

It matters where Oswald was at 12:30 on November 22nd.

It matters what Oswald did immediately after the assassination, and how he behaved.

It matters if a false narrative was created after the assassination; and if it was, we must learn how it was constructed and who performed the cover-up.

My timeline attempts to answer these questions.

Sources are cited in-text; the Warren Report and its 26 volumes of testimonies and documents, as well as its many exhibits, are available on both maryferrell.org and The Assassination Archives and Research Center (aarc.org). WC denotes Warren Commission; CD denotes a Commission Document; and CE is a Commission Exhibit. The report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) has been of some use to me. These sources are all available at the above websites and they are easily searchable. Radio broadcasts are all available on YouTube. The Dallas Police radio transcripts are available at John McAdams's website (mcadams.posc.mu.edu) and in Commission Document 728. Since there are discrepancies, I have consulted both.

The Timeline

11:45 – TSBD employee Charles Givens sees Oswald on the 6th floor carrying a clipboard, doing his usual job of filling a book order (CD 87).

11:50 – Oswald's supervisor, William Shelley, sees Oswald on the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building doing his normal duties (CD 87). Givens sees Oswald in the domino room where employees eat lunch, reading a newspaper at this time (FBI statement of Nov. 22, CD 5). For some reason Givens will later recant this in his WC testimony.

11:55 –Oswald is seen on the 5th or 6th floor of the TSBD by his coworkers Bonnie Ray Williams, Danny Arce, and others, as they leave the 6th floor to

get their lunches on the first floor (employees' lunch time is scheduled from 12:00 to 12:45). The employees are playing a game in which they take two separate elevators and race to the bottom floor (the east elevator wins the race, according to Charles Givens's testimony). Oswald says, "Guys, how about an elevator?" or something to that effect, but fails to catch an elevator. This is the last time Oswald is seen before the assassination (WC testimonies). Oswald will later claim that he was eating his lunch in the presence of James Jarman and at least one other employee when the motorcade arrived, but this is unsubstantiated. Williams gets his lunch and takes it back up to the 6th floor to eat shortly after 12:00.

Shortly before 12:00, Lee Bowers, Jr., stationed in the Union Terminal Tower in the railroad yard behind the fence on the grassy knoll, sees a car enter the parking lot. This is an extremely dirty 1959 Oldsmobile station wagon with an out of state license, driven by a middle-aged male (HSCA V, from FBI statement, Nov. 22).

12:00 – TSBD janitor Eddie Piper sees Oswald on the first floor of the TSBD. Oswald tells Piper that he is going up to the lunchroom to eat his lunch, and this is the last time Piper sees him (CD 87).

12:00 – Around noon J.D. Tippit, who is normally assigned to District 78, goes home for lunch. He lives at 238 Glencairn Drive, according to the FBI's background check on Tippit (CD 1002). This is according to his immediate supervisor Sgt. Calvin Owens, in a statement to the FBI in March 1964. He will be killed in Oak Cliff, which is in District 91.

12:10: Roy Truly, Director and Superintendent of Operations of the Texas School Book Depository, walks out of the building with Vice President O.V.Campbell, and they stand directly in front of the entrance to wait for the motorcade (CD 87).

12:10-12:15 – According to a statement to the FBI on 11-26, Mrs. R.E. Arnold (a secretary who works on the 2nd floor) sees a man she believes is Oswald, standing on the first floor of the TSBD, "between the front door and the double doors leading to the warehouse" (CD 5).

12:15 – Bowers sees a second car enter the lot, this one a 1957 Ford Tutor with a Texas license. This man is talking into a radio transmitter and

appears to be a police officer.

12:15-12:20 – According to statements made to the police and FBI on the 22nd and 23rd, Arnold Rowland, while standing at Houston and Main, sees a man with a rifle with a scope standing at the 6th floor window of the TSBD, at the southwest side of the building, which is closest to the Elm Street overpass (not Oswald's sniper's nest). The man is slender, with dark hair and a light collarless shirt which is open at the neck. The gun in his hands seems to be a .306 rifle with a telescopic site. He cannot identify the man as Oswald (HSCA V. 12). This man is standing about ten or fifteen feet back from the window with his rifle at "parade rest" position. Rowland points this out to his wife and comments that this must be a Secret Service agent.

12:15-12:20 –According to his Warren Commission testimony Bonnie Ray Williams is eating lunch alone on the 6th floor of the building, between the 3rd and 4th windows, facing Elm Street. This would place him around 20 to 30 feet from the sniper's nest, which at the time of the shooting will be surrounded by boxes. At "approximately 12:20" Williams finishes his chicken lunch (according to his statement to the Secret Service he finished before 12:15). He puts his Dr. Pepper and his lunch bag on the floor and leaves the 6th floor, taking the elevator to the 5th floor to join his friends Harold Norman and James Jarman. He does not see anyone else on the 6th floor at this time (WC testimony). If the 12:15 time frame is correct, the man with the rifle seen by Rowland must be on the same floor at this time, around 40 or 50 feet away from him. Strangely, Williams tells the FBI on Nov. 23rd that he left the 6th floor at around 12:03 to go down to the 5th floor. It is unclear how long he was actually on the 6th floor. Also, the location where Williams ate his lunch will remain mysterious: Officers Clyde Haygood and E.D. Brewer testified to the WC that they found Williams's chicken lunch and Dr. Pepper bottle in the sniper's nest itself, next to the shells.

Williams has been working on the 6th floor since 8:00 AM with Charles Givens, Bill Shelley, Danny Arce, Billy Lovelady, and Harold Norman. He has seen Oswald once on the 6th floor shortly after 8:00, and once shortly before noon on the 5th or 6th floor, just before he went downstairs to get his lunch.

Jim Bishop *(The Day Kennedy Was Shot)*, and other lone nut theorists, imagine Oswald waiting patiently on the 6th floor for 30 minutes before the motorcade, planning his shot. There is simply no evidence to place him there, however.

12:22- The President's motorcade is at the corner of Main and Ervay streets (Manchester).

12:22- Lee Bowers sees a third car enter the lot, this one a 1961 or 62 Chevrolet Impala. The driver is about 30, with long dirty blonde hair, wearing a plaid shirt, and the car is very dirty. All three of the cars are gone after the assassination (HSCA, from FBI statement, Nov. 22).

12:23- The motorcade is at Main and Akard. The spectators are lined up ten deep on the sidewalks (Manchester).

12:24- The motorcade is at Main and Field.

12:25 (estimated) –James Jarman and Harold Norman, who are standing on the sidewalk in front of the TSBD waiting for the motorcade, decide to go up to the 5th floor for a better view of the President. They are joined by Bonnie Ray Williams (WC testimonies).

12:25 – This is the scheduled time for the motorcade to pass through Dealey Plaza, but it is running five minutes late. Any assassin who is aware of the motorcade schedule must be in place by this time.

12:26- The motorcade is at Main and Poydras.

12:28 – The motorcade is at Main and Market.

12:29- The motorcade is at Main and Houston and scheduled to arrive at the International Trade Mart at 12:35.

12:29 – Immediately before the motorcade, Carolyn Walther, while standing on the east side of Houston Street, sees a man in the southeast corner of the TSBD, in the 4th or 5th floor window, with a rifle in his hands. He is wearing a light shirt and has light brown or blonde hair. Next to this man is another man wearing a brown suit coat. She is positive they are not on the 6th floor (HSCA V. 12, from FBI statement of Dec. 6). At this time the Dallas Police

radio system's Channel One stops working because an officer's microphone is stuck in the on position.

12:30- The Presidential Motorcade begins the left turn onto Elm Street and slows down to 11 miles an hour. The motorcade is late; it was planned to pass through Dealey Plaza at 12:25, and 12:30 is the scheduled time for the motorcade to arrive at the Trade Mart. According to the Warren Report, "A Secret Service agent riding in the motorcade radioed to the Trade Mart that the President would arrive in 5 minutes."

In a strange deviation from common practice, there are no Secret Service agents riding on the back of the limousine. According to Secret Service researcher Vince Palamara (*Survivor's Guilt*), there is no evidence that President Kennedy (or anyone else) ordered the agents to keep off the back of the car, despite claims to the contrary by Secret Service agents after the assassination. Crucially, there are no agents running alongside the limousine, and motorcycle police have been placed behind or in front of the President's limousine – not to the side of it, where they could potentially protect the president. Additional anomalies of the Dallas motorcade: police have not been stationed on the roofs of buildings; the overpass is open to the public; the press vehicle, typically in front of the president's car has been placed far behind it and is now the 9th vehicle in the motorcade (leaving scant visual evidence of the assassination); no ambulance is present in the motorcade; the president's personal physician, Dr. Burkley, is in a bus far behind the president's limousine, where he would not be able to help the President in case of emergency; the slow speed of the motorcade (25 MPH was typical – 11 MPH was unheard of); a former defector to the Soviet Union (Oswald) is known to be working at a seven-story building on the route, with a clear view of the motorcade.

David Talbot, in *The Devil's Chessboard: Allan Dulles, the CIA, and the Rise of America's Secret Government* makes an interesting connection regarding the Secret Service. Doug Dillon, Treasury Secretary under Kennedy, was close friends with the disgraced former CIA chief Alan Dulles, whom Kennedy fired after the Bay of Pigs failure. Dillon was a former Wall Street financier with many connections in the banking world. As Treasury Secretary, Dillon was in charge of the Secret Service. And as

Talbot notes, the banking industry had profound disagreements with Kennedy's economic policies. Talbot makes a strong case that the Dulles, though no longer working at the CIA, was still making decisions at the agency and used his clout and connections to orchestrate the assassination. As Talbot describes, Dulles and Dillon met on October 2, less than two months before the assassination. Talbot also notes that the TSBD was owned by Dallas businessman David Harold Byrd, a man with many connections in the world of right wing politics. His friends and associates included Lyndon Johnson, Air Force chief (and Kennedy adversary) Curtis LeMay, construction tycoons George and Herman Brown, and many other people in the oil industry and military industrial complex. Byrd was a member of the Petroleum Club, whose members included Dallas mayor Earle Cabell and Oswald's friend and alleged CIA handler George de Mohrenschildt.

*Note (regarding Oswald's presence in the TSBD): In July of 1963 the FBI learned of Oswald's contact with the FPCC, a pro-Castro group. According to Edward Jay Epstein (*Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald*), as early as October 10, the CIA informed the FBI that Oswald had visited the Cuban and Soviet Embassies in Mexico City on September 28, in an attempt to get a Visa to return to the USSR. According to the Church Committee (Book V), the FBI's New Orleans office knew on October 22 that Oswald had visited Vice Consul Kostikov at the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, and that Kostikov worked for the wing of the KGB that dealt with assassinations and sabotage. On November 1 of 1963, FBI Agent James Hosty visited the residence of Ruth and Michael Paine in Irving, Texas (where Oswald and his family were staying) and was told by Ruth Paine that Oswald was working at the TSBD. About a week or ten days before the assassination, Oswald visited the FBI field office in Dallas and left a note for Hosty. According to the receptionists, it contained a threat that Oswald would blow up the FBI and the Police Department if they did not stop bothering his wife. FBI Special Agent in Charge of Dallas, Gordon Shanklin, instructed Hosty to destroy this note on November 24th after Oswald's death.*

According to an FBI memo of Dec. 6, the FBI gave the Secret Service no information on Lee Harvey Oswald prior to Nov. 22 (NARA Record # 180-

10001-10416). After the assassination there was a bitter debate within the FBI about whether or not Oswald should have been on the Security Index. Hoover, believing Oswald should have been on the Index and should've been watched closely after his Mexico City trip, found gross negligence on the part of 16 FBI personnel, who received disciplinary action on December 16 (HSCA V). We must wonder, along with J. Edgar Hoover, why Oswald was allowed to be anywhere near the motorcade on that day. Of course, the "lone nut" explanation is that simple bureaucratic negligence was to blame for this oversight.

After the first shot, the driver of Kennedy's limousine, Secret Service agent William Greer, slows down the limousine, nearly bringing it to a complete stop. After the final shot, he accelerates and heads toward Parkland Hospital. Over sixty witnesses will later attest to Greer's slowdown. Between the first and final shots, Greer looks back at Kennedy twice, as can be seen on the Zapruder film. Palamara claims that according to eyewitnesses, and the Zapruder film, Greer is receiving communications through a radio microphone, which he is holding in his hand.

After the first shot hits Kennedy, Agent Emory Roberts, Commander of the Secret Service follow-up car (five feet behind JFK's limousine), orders other agents not to move. Clint Hill, who was not originally supposed to be on the Dallas trip but has come at the request of Mrs. Kennedy, jumps onto the back of the President's limo after the final shot (Palamara).

Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman (WC testimony) is riding in the front passenger seat of the President's limousine. As the motorcade proceeds down Elm Street he hears what sounds like a firecracker pop. He turns his head to the right, since the sound seems to have come from the right and the rear of him. He hears the President say "My God, I am hit." *As has been noted by other researchers, if this is true, the single bullet theory is impossible, since the first shot was supposed to have entered Kennedy's back, come out his throat (making it impossible to speak), and entered Governor Connally; if Kellerman is correct, the first bullet hit Kennedy in the back, and a separate bullet hit his throat*.

Kellerman turns around and sees that Kennedy has raised his hands up to his neck. Kellerman sees that Kennedy has been hit, and tells the driver,

“Let’s get out of here; we are hit.” He radios Agent Lawson, in the front car, and says, “We are hit; get us to the hospital immediately.” During the time he has been speaking, a “flurry of shells” comes into the car, and he turns around to see that Clint Hill is on the back of the car. Kellerman does not describe three separate shots, as the media will do later. He describes a flurry of instantaneous shots – *at least* two more shots after the initial shot. (It is fascinating to read Kellerman’s WC testimony and to witness Gerald Ford and Arlen Specter try to coerce Kellerman into saying there were three distinct shots. While Kellerman refers to the first shot, and then a separate *flurry* of shots that sounded different from the first, Ford and Specter repeatedly refer to a first, second, and third shot.)

Kellerman tells the Commission, “President Kennedy had four wounds, two in the head and shoulder and neck. Governor Connally, from our reports, had three. There have got to be more than three shots.” It is quite instructive to read Arlen Specter’s condescending response to this, in which he tells Kellerman that this is just his “lay opinion.” It is clear that as the architect of the single bullet theory, Specter had made up his mind long before all the evidence was available.

Clint Hill, riding in the follow-up car five feet behind the president (WC testimony), hears a shot from his rear and sees the President grab himself and lurch forward and to the left. He runs to the limousine, and as he reaches it, he hears a new gunshot, like someone firing a revolver into a hard object. This is clearly a different sound from the first. He struggles to gain a foothold on the car, and as he climbs onto the rear of the car, Mrs. Kennedy climbs onto the rear. She says, “My God, they have shot his head off.” The second shot has removed a portion of the President’s head and she seems to be climbing onto the back to retrieve it. He helps put Mrs. Kennedy back into the seat. He rides on the back of the car to the hospital. On the way to the hospital he sees that the right rear portion of the President’s head is missing and his brain is exposed. Later he also notices the President’s back wound – “about 6 inches below the neckline to the right-hand side of the spinal column.”

(In Hill’s WC testimony he firmly states that he heard two shots and no more, and that they were spaced about five seconds apart. He remembers

looking at the triple underpass as the motorcade approached; there were about 5 or 6 people and a policeman on the underpass.)

Dallas PD officer Bobby Hargis, according to WC testimony, is riding his motorcycle at the rear left side of the President's limousine at 12:30. At the time of the first shot he sees the President bend over and Connally turn around. It appears that Connally has been hit first, but Hargis thinks he was mistaken about this. As Kennedy raises up, the shot that kills him hits him and Hargis is sprayed with "blood and brain, and kind of a bloody water. It wasn't really blood." Hargis can only recall two shots, but as he says, everything happened so fast, that there could have been 30 shots and he wouldn't have heard them. Hargis believes that the shots have come from the TSBD and the railroad overpass. He runs up the grassy knoll and looks at the overpass. Hargis looks at the TSBD and notices that no one near or in the building is looking toward the top of the building. Everyone in Dealey Plaza seems to be looking and running toward the overpass and the railroad yard. Hargis rides his motorcycle under the triple underpass and the Stemmons Freeway but does not see anyone fleeing the scene.

Dallas PD Officer Clyde Haygood, riding his motorcycle several cars behind the President, hears three shots (WC testimony): "The last two were closer than the first. In other words, it was the first, and then a pause, and then the other two were real close." David Belin, his interviewer, does not ask Haygood whether it is possible for one gun to fire both of the final shots, seeing as they were so closely spaced together. After the shooting Haygood speaks to James Tague, who has been struck on the cheek by a bullet fragment while standing by the triple underpass between Main and Commerce streets (in front of the President). A clear marking on the curb shows that a bullet, or a fragment, hit the street there. Since the Warren Commission has decided that only three shots were fired, James Tague must have been struck by one of them, and the wounds of Kennedy and Connally must have been caused by just two gunshots, thus necessitating the single bullet theory.

12:30 –Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, riding in the Presidential Motorcade, says into his radio, "Approaching triple underpass," and 19 seconds later he says "We are going to the hospital." This occurs at 12:30

(HSCA V. 2). This is according to the acoustical analysis of the Dallas police dictabelt recordings by Dr. James Barger for the HSCA.

From Officer Marion Baker's affidavit given on November 22, 1963 (CD 87): "Friday November 22, 1963 I was riding motorcycle escort for the President of the United States. At approximately 12:30 P.M. I was on Houston Street and the President's car had just made a left turn from Houston onto Elm Street. Just as I approached Elm and Houston I heard three shots. I realized these shots were rifle shots and I began to try to figure out where they came from. I decided the shots had come from the building on the northwest corner of Elm and Houston. This building is used by the Board of Education for book storage. I jumped off my motor and ran inside the building. As I entered the door I saw several people standing around. I asked these people where the stairs were. A man stepped forward and stated he was the building manager and that he would show me where the stairs were. I followed the man to the rear of the building and he said, 'Let's take the elevator.' The elevator was hung several floors up so we used the stairs instead. As we reached the third or fourth floor I saw a man walking away from the stairway. I called to the man and he turned around and came toward me. The manager said, 'I know that man, he works here.' I then turned the man loose and went up to the top floor. The man I saw was a white man approximately 30 years old, 5'9", 165 pounds, dark hair and wearing a light brown jacket."

On 11-26 Baker tells the FBI that he saw Oswald in the snack bar on the 2nd floor.

From Commission Document 87, Secret Service report of December 8, 1963 (written by Special Agents Arthur Blake, William Carter and Elmer Moore): "[TSBD Superintendent Roy Truly stated that] the President's automobile passed his location at about 12:30 P.M., and a moment later three shots rang out. Almost immediately, Mr. Truly saw a motorcycle patrolman pushing through the crowd and heading for the entrance of the Depository Building. Mr. Truly ran inside the building with the patrolman, who asked 'Where is the stairway?' and Mr. Truly escorted him to the rear stairway. As they passed the shaft for the two freight elevators, Mr. Truly paused momentarily and, noting that neither of the elevators was available,

he directed the way up the back stairway. As Mr. Truly started up the stairway from the second to the third floor, he noticed that the patrolman was not with him and, at the same time, he heard the patrolman say something. Mr. Truly returned to the second floor and saw the patrolman standing at the doorway leading to the lunchroom, with his pistol drawn and pointed at Oswald, who was then just inside the lunchroom just inside the doorway. The patrolman asked Mr. Truly if he worked in the building and Truly replied 'Yes.'"

Truly and the patrolman [Baker] continue up the stairs and take the elevator from the 5th to the 7th floors. They make a quick examination of the roof-top area, then come down the stairs, stopping briefly to make a quick search, and arrive at the first floor, where the employees of the TSBD are congregated. At this time Truly notices that Oswald is not present. He mentions to a police officer that Oswald is absent. Time for this event is not given in the Secret Service report.

From CD 5, FBI's Gemberling Report, "Interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald and Relatives," November 23, 1963: "Oswald stated that he went to lunch at approximately noon and he claimed that he ate his lunch on the first floor in the lunchroom; however he went to the second floor where the Coca-Cola machine was located and obtained a bottle of Coca-Cola for his lunch. Oswald claimed to be on the first floor when President Kennedy passed this building."

From Captain Fritz's "Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald," based on his handwritten notes (maryferrel.org), dictated on Jan. 10, 1964: (First interrogation, Nov. 22) "Mr Truly had told me that one of the police officers had stopped this man immediately after the shooting somewhere near the back stairway, so I asked Oswald where he was when the police officer stopped him. He said he was on the 2nd floor drinking a coca-cola [sic] when the officer came in. I asked him why he left the building, and he said there was so much excitement he didn't think there would be any more work that day, and that as his company wasn't particular about their hours, that they did not punch a clock, and that he thought it would be just as well that he left for the rest of the afternoon."

From “Interview with Lee Harvey Oswald by Postal Inspector, Dallas, Texas, 11/24/63”: “When asked as to his whereabouts at the time of the shooting, he stated that when lunch time came, and he didn’t say which floor he was on, he said one of the Negro employees invited him to eat lunch with him and he stated ‘You go on down and send the elevator back up and I will join you in a few minutes.’ Before he could finish whatever he was doing, he stated, the commotion surrounding the assassination took place and when he went downstairs, a policeman questioned him as to his identification and his boss stated that ‘he is one of our employees’ whereupon the policeman had him step aside momentarily. Following this, he simply walked out the front door of the building. I don’t recall that anyone asked why he left or where or how he went. I just presumed that this had been covered in an earlier questioning” (Oswald 201 File Volume 20).

Note: The above account, as told by Oswald, places him near or at the entrance to the TSBD when Truly and Baker encounter him 90 seconds after the assassination (he went downstairs *after his lunch, spoke to Baker and Truly, and simply walked out the front door). Notice how this is changed to the “3rd or 4th floor” in Baker’s early account and finally the “2nd floor lunchroom” in later official accounts.*

According to her affidavit of November 23, TSBD employee E.A. Reid watches the motorcade while standing on the front steps of the TSBD. After hearing the gunshots she walks back to her office on the second floor. She sees Oswald come through the back office door, which is located near the lunchroom and the rear stairway. He is wearing a white shirt and holding a Coke. She says “Oh! Someone has shot at the president. I hope they didn’t hit him.” Oswald mumbles something incoherent and walks out of the office. Reid, in her statement to the Secret Service (CD 87), says that she returned to her office on the 2nd floor “almost immediately” after the gunshots, where she saw Oswald entering from the lunchroom.

From “Police Relate Story of Swift Capture,” *NY Times* Nov. 23: “The first officer to reach the six-story building, Chief Curry said, found Oswald among other persons in a lunchroom. He said the building manager identified Oswald as an employee of the book-distribution concern that used the building. Oswald was not questioned then. When the main force of

investigating officers reached the building Oswald had left. He became a suspect after the police had found on the sixth floor the rifle they believed was the assassination weapon. An elevator operator, the chief said, recalled having taken Oswald to the top floor before the motorcade passed by" (this is not corroborated anywhere else, and noon is the last time Oswald was seen before the assassination).

CE 2180 – Washington Post, Nov. 26: "A police officer, immediately after the assassination, ran in the building and saw this man in a corner and tried to arrest him; but the manager of the building said he was an employee and it was alright. Every other employee was located but this defendant of the company. A description and name of him went out by police to look for him."

Note- In CD 706, the FBI's collected statements of TSBD employees, there is no evidence of Truly locating every employee and noticing Oswald's absence. According to CD 706, many employees watching the motorcade were not allowed back in the building immediately after the shooting – they were finally let back in the building after 2:00, when the employees stuck inside were finally allowed to leave. There is no evidence of Truly making a "headcount" or checking up on the employees of the building, which consisted of various businesses. Many employees besides Oswald were also missing at the time of the search of the building. These people had left the building to go to lunch or watch the motorcade, and were not allowed back in after 12:30. The question arises: Why was Oswald singled out after Truly told Baker that he was "okay"? Regarding this point, see 1:23 below.

O.V. Campbell, Vice President and Secretary of the TSBD, in the statement from Nov. 26, 1963, by FBI Special Agent Richard Harrison (CD 5): "Regarding events that occurred on November 22, 1963, Mr. Campbell advised he had viewed the Presidential Motorcade and subsequently heard the shots being fired from a point which he thought was near the railroad tracks located over the viaduct on Elm Street. He advised he had not heard anyone fire shots from their building; however, an individual wearing a construction-type hat was talking about seeing an individual fire from the window of the Texas School Book Depository building and he noted that a police officer had taken this individual's name.

“He further advised later in talking with Mrs. E.A. Reid, who is supervisor for the clerical staff for Texas School Book Depository, she had advised him she observed Lee Harvey Oswald in the second floor, at which time he had a Coca Cola in his hand and was presumed to have left by the front entrance.

“Mr. Campbell advised he had never met Mr. Oswald and knew nothing about him, in fact, could not recognize him inasmuch as the employees of the warehouse are handled by Mr. R.S. Truly, Director of Personnel.”

According to *Life Magazine* (Feb. 21, 1964), Campbell hears someone say, “I saw a young man poke a rifle out that window right there and fire and draw back in.”

According to WC (Warren Commission) testimony: TSBD employee Buell Wesley Frazier, standing on the front steps of the TSBD, watches the Presidential motorcade go by and hears several shots come from the direction of the railroad yards. After a few minutes he goes back into the building and eats his lunch in the basement. He tells the WC that the last time he had seen Oswald was between 10 and noon.

12:30 – According to her statement live on Dallas radio station KLRD at around 1:30, Mary Moorman, standing 15 feet from the President’s limousine, hears two shots and sees the President grab his chest. Then the motorcade slows down. Then she hears three or four more shots, and the limo speeds off to the triple underpass. The police then run off in the direction of the gunshots, up the grassy knoll. She states that the shots were coming right at her. In the same interview, Jean Hill echoes this statement.

12:30: Howard Brennan is watching the motorcade from the south side of Elm Street, about 20 feet west of the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets (CD 5, in a report by FBI Special Agents Gaston Thompson and Robert Lish written on November 22). After hearing the gunshot or shots, he looks up to the window on the 6th floor near the southeast corner of the building. He observes a man with a heavy rifle in his hands. Only half of the rifle’s length is protruding out of the window and Brennan cannot tell if it has a telescopic sight or not. The man fires another shot, taking deliberate aim at the President’s limo, and then holds the rifle by the barrel as if it is

resting on the floor. The man looks down at the street briefly and then walks away from the window. Brennan's distance to the window is approximately 90 yards and is unobstructed. Brennan sees a stack of boxes in the window, to the rear of the area in which the man is standing. Brennan describes the man as "early 30's, 5'10" tall and around 165 in weight," which, in a remarkable coincidence, corresponds exactly to the incorrect physical description of Oswald in his CIA 201 file dating back to 1959 (see notes for 12:45 below).

It is debatable whether Brennan could correctly identify the weight, age and height of someone 90 yards away, when standing on the ground and looking through a window on the 6th floor. There is no mention in this report that Brennan gave this description to the police immediately after the shooting. According to Secret Service Agent Forrest Sorrels, at the police lineup later that day Brennan could not positively identify Oswald, though he looked like the man he saw. Brennan said that the man he saw was not disheveled the way Oswald was in the lineup, and stated, "I am sorry, but I just can't do it. I was afraid seeing the television might have messed me up. I just can't be positive. I am sorry" (Sorrels WC testimony). One wonders why Brennan felt the need to apologize. Brennan's testimony bizarrely seems to have become a smoking gun for lone nut theorists. Brennan also tells the FBI on 11-23 that he "cannot positively identify Oswald as the person he saw fire the rifle." Brennan claims that while he uses glasses for reading purposes, he has "perfect" vision at a distance according to his optometrist. It is hard to believe that so much of the lone nut narrative relies on Brennan's account.

According to the affidavit of Dealey Plaza witness S.M. Holland, given in the Dallas Sheriff's Department on November 22, 1963: "I was standing on top of the triple underpass and the President's car was coming down Elm Street and when they get just about to the arcade I heard what I thought for the moment was a fire cracker and he slumped over and I looked over toward the arcade and trees and saw a puff of smoke come from the trees and I heard three more shots after the first shot but that was the only puff of smoke I saw. I immediately ran around to where I could see behind the arcade and did not see anyone running from there. But the puff of smoke I saw definitely came from behind the arcade through the trees. After the first

shot the President slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and tried to get over into the back seat to him and then the second shot rang out. After the first shot the secret service man raised up in the seat with a machine gun and then dropped back down in the seat. And they immediately sped off. Everything is spinning in my head and if I remember anything else later I will come back and tell Bill" (WC V. 20).

At the time of the shots, Lee Bowers, Jr., sees two men standing by the trees about 10 or 15 feet apart, directly in his line of vision between himself and the mouth of the overpass. These men are watching the motorcade. One of them is middle-aged, heavy-set, white shirt and dark trousers, and the other is mid-twenties, wearing a plaid shirt or jacket. After the shooting a policeman runs up the grassy knoll and there is some kind of commotion between the three. The younger man is hard for Bowers to see because he is obscured by trees (WC testimony, from HSCA V. 12).

TSBD employee Dolores Kounas is watching the motorcade 15 feet west of the southwest corner of Houston and Elm Streets. When the President is shot, she does not look toward the TSBD, as she thinks the shots have come "from the westerly direction in the vicinity of the viaduct." Billy Lovelady, who is standing on the front steps of the TSBD during the shooting, repeats this statement about shots coming from the viaduct. He recalls talking to Oswald on the 6th floor that morning, when Oswald asked him where a certain book was stored (CD 706, from statements in March, 1964).

Jean Hill, just a half hour after the shooting, is interviewed live on WBAP radio in Dallas, at the scene in Dealey Plaza. She says: "The shots came from the hill. It was just east of the underpass." The shots originated across the street from where she was standing, 10 or 15 feet away from the President when he was shot. When asked if she saw anyone on the hill after the shots, she says, "I thought I saw a man running."

According to WLW live radio coverage immediately following the assassination, reports of wounds indicate that the president was "shot in the right temple and the bullet went cleanly through the head."

Jack Dougherty, TSBD employee, is on the 5th floor, having just come down from the 6th floor when he hears gunshots. He goes down to the 1st floor

where he speaks to Eddie Piper, who tells him the President has been shot (and mentions three gunshots). Dougherty goes up to the 6th floor, using the elevator, and sees no one there (From FBI statement on December 12, 1963, in Oswald's 201 File Volume 20). From same source, Eddie Piper states that he was on the first floor of the TSBD looking out the window at the motorcade when the shots ring out. He does not see Oswald at any time after the shots.

According to WC testimonies, TSBD employees James Jarman, Harold Norman, and Bonnie Ray Williams are on the 5th floor watching the motorcade as the President is shot (none of them mention Dougherty being on the 5th floor). Debris falls from the ceiling onto Williams's hair. Neither of the men hear anyone running upstairs, but Norman hears the bolt action of the rifle and the shells hitting the floor. About a minute after the final shot, they run down the stairs and exit the building, and do not see Oswald at any time. Once they arrive on the street, James Jarman sees Howard Brennan talking to a police officer. Jarman overhears Brennan telling the officer that he saw the barrel of a gun sticking out of the window on the 6th floor. There is no mention of Brennan's physical description of Oswald.

In a slightly different version of this story: After the shooting, Bonnie Ray Williams, who has been watching the motorcade from the 5th floor with Hank Norman and James Jarman, run to the west end of the building to get a better view. While they are there, a police officer comes up on the elevator and looks all around the 5th floor and leaves. Williams does not see or hear anyone come down the 5th floor on the stairs (CD 706, from a statement on March 19, 1964). It is unclear why this version involves the policeman, presumably Baker, encountering them, while their WC testimonies omit that.

NBC cameraman John Holfen is riding four cars behind the president's limo, turning onto Elm Street. He hears four shots. He sees the motorcycle cops run up the hill to the rail yards. He states that the police who searched the railroad yard have picked up a few suspects (WLW radio live coverage).

NBC correspondent Robert Pierpoint, riding in the motorcade, hears "a couple of explosions, maybe three." According to Pierpoint, the first shot hits the President in the Adam's apple, and Governor Connally turns

around. In the process of turning around, Connally is hit by a second shot in the back (this makes the single bullet theory impossible). NBC reporters for KLRD remark on the amazing marksmanship of the sniper, firing at a moving target from the 5th or 6th floor of the building. They remark that it must have been a well-planned assassination, "not a spur of the moment affair." (From a live report on KLRD radio, around an hour and a half after the shooting.)

Note: Regarding the "well-planned assassination": The exact route for the motorcade (without maps) appeared in the Dallas Times Herald *and the* Morning News of November 19 (CD 3). *A map of the route, including the important turn down Elm Street, appeared in the* Dallas Times Herald's *final edition of November 21 (Palamara). This brings up the fact that Oswald, as he brought his rifle to work on the morning of the 22nd, had three days at the most to plan his assassination, and that assumes he was paying close attention to the newspapers' publications of the motorcade routes. (He also would not have had much time to create his sniper's nest and plan his shot in private, seeing that the motorcade was scheduled to arrive at 12:25 and he wasn't on the 6th floor at 12:20 when Bonnie Ray Williams was eating his lunch there.) The Secret Service report, in CD 3, claims that since the Trade Mart was announced as the final destination of the motorcade route on November 15, that the assassin could logically assume that the motorcade would use Elm Street, since that is the only way to enter the Stemmons Freeway. But, as researchers have noted before, there were many ways of getting to the Trade Mart from downtown. As Palamara says in* Survivor's Guilt, *"Prior to November 18, the motorcade route in Dallas was to have proceeded straight down Main Street." It is unclear even to this day who changed the route to include the slow left turn onto Elm Street, which violated Secret Service protocol.*

Even if Oswald knew that the motorcade was going through Dealey Plaza, his knowledge of the odd turn down Elm Street would be essential to the success of the assassination, considering that any other route would place Kennedy farther from the sniper's nest. None of Oswald's coworkers mentioned that he had any interest in the President's visit or the motorcade route (Williams mentioned seeing Oswald occasionally reading a newspaper and laughing to himself). FBI analysis of the map found in

Oswald's room (CD 205) reveals that the X's placed on the map were in fact related to places where Oswald had applied for work, in addition to bus routes that he could take since he didn't drive a car. This map had no connection to the JFK motorcade route.

Additionally, in CD 345, the FBI's unofficial inventory of physical evidence, we find none of the three newspapers that would indicate that Oswald was studying the motorcade route. If he knew about it at all, it would have been through a coworker, but no one testified as to discussing the route with him. In fact, almost none of his coworkers had ever spoken with him. Bonnie Ray Williams told the Warren Commission that he hadn't heard any of his coworkers at the TSBD discussing the President's visit to Dallas (or the motorcade route) until the day of the assassination. In his testimony at the Garrison trial on February 13, 1969, Buell Frazier stated "We learned that morning that the President was due to come by about 12:00, so you don't get to see the President of the United States every day, so we all went outside to watch the parade."

Regarding the turn down Elm Street, employee James Jarman (Junior) testified that he spoke with Oswald on the 1st floor between 9:30 and 10:00 on the 22nd, and Oswald asked why people were gathering on the street corner in front of the building. Jarman told Oswald that the President was coming by. Oswald asked which way the President was coming, and Jarman told him he would probably come on Main, turn onto Houston, and then turn onto Elm. Oswald said "Oh," and walked away. So we have no evidence that Oswald knew about the motorcade route before 9:30 that morning. And there is no evidence of Oswald knowing the motorcade's precise arrival time; Frazier said the employees thought the motorcade would arrive at noon.

Jim Bishop claims that Oswald borrowed a copy of the Dallas Herald *from someone at work during lunch on the 21st where he saw the chart of the motorcade route. (The map was only published in the paper's evening edition, so this story might be a fiction.) Bishop claims that two hours after seeing the motorcade route at lunch, Oswald asked Buell Frazier for a ride to Irving that night, where he allegedly picked up the rifle that he brought to*

work the next day. Bishop's source for the newspaper story is unclear (possibly Frazier), and it appears to be unique to Bishop's book.

The Dallas Morning News, *in their Nov. 22 article "Thousands Expected to Greet JFK," fails to mention the motorcade route (CD 678). Jim Lehrer's article on the Secret Service's preparations for the Dallas visit also neglects to mention the route. In fact, none of the 22 articles from local newspapers concerning JFK's Texas trip from the morning of November 22nd, featured in CD 678, mention the motorcade route. Buell Wesley Frazier, who gave Oswald a ride back to the Paines' residence in Irving on the 21st, and gave him a ride to the TSBD the morning of the assassination, did not discuss the President's visit with Oswald, and definitely did not see Oswald with any of the newspapers that would have provided information about the turn down Elm Street (WC testimony).*

Also, regarding the planning of the assassination, it is interesting to note that Oswald's passport application from June 24, 1963 (CE 781), filed in New Orleans, shows that he was planning to be in Cuba or Russia on November 22. His application specifically states that he is planning on leaving the country from October of 1963 to January of 1964. He had no intention at that time of being in America during JFK's trip to Dallas. He was still attempting to travel to Russia and/or Cuba at the beginning of October during his trip to Mexico.

According to the Warren Report, it was September 26 when Texas newspapers first reported that the President would visit Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Houston on November 21-22. Even the Warren Report concludes that Oswald would only have had three days to plan the assassination, given that the motorcade route wasn't made public until the 19th, and that he did not get the job at the TSBD (which he started on October 15) with the intention of using it to assassinate the President. If Oswald acted alone, it seems all the more amazing that the assassination was so successful. As the Warren Report tells us, the administration had been planning the Texas trip for almost a year. Such a "well-planned," successful assassination ("not a spur of the moment affair") is more likely to be accomplished by someone with more advanced knowledge of the trip, and much more experience as a sniper, than Oswald had.

Also, Oswald's chances of success were statistically low. In a 2015 study, Benjamin Jones and Benjamin Olken collected data on assassinations of political leaders from 1875 to 2004. While 59% of assassination attempts were made by people ostensibly operating alone, only 25% of all assassination attempts were successful, and guns only killed the intended targets 31% of the time. Historically, assassins operating alone had a 29% chance of killing their target. For Oswald to succeed with these odds, no sniper experience, and only three days to plan, is indeed remarkable.

According the the FBI's Gemberling Report (CD 5), the distance from the sniper's nest to the first shot that hit Kennedy was 170 feet, and the distance to the head shot was 260 feet. This is well within the expectations for a military sniper, who may be expected to strike a target up to 900 meters or more. However, the qualifications for being such a sniper are daunting. The US Army Sniper Training Manual *provides criteria for a successful sniper. These include marksmanship, physical condition, vision, stable mental condition, intelligence (to operate all necessary equipment), emotional balance, and field craft, among others. Oswald, who was dyslexic, physically slight, untrained in marksmanship, and mentally unbalanced, had few of these qualities, and he had not been in the Marines for four years.*

The manual tells us correct preparation for the sniper to successfully hit his mark. These include choice of location, deciding the correct firing position from the many that are available (kneeling, standing, etc), placement of non-firing hand correctly under the butt of the rifle, correct placement of the butt in the shoulder, correct stance in order to provide bone support, consistent placement of the cheek with each shot, muscle relaxation, time to aim correctly, proper breathing techniques during the shot, locking the non-firing arm to absorb the rifle's recoil, correct head placement to avoid injury to the eye from the scope, judgment of distance and angle, sight alignment, usage of dominant eye for sighting, and calling the shot ("being able to tell where the round should impact the target").

A competent sniper would have to thoroughly understand muzzle velocity, line of sight, line of departure, trajectory, midrange trajectory, bullet drop, time of flight, retained velocity, gravity, drag, temperature,

altitude/barometric pressure, humidity, wind, and efficiency of the bullet. Engaging a moving target requires leading (placing crosshairs ahead of the target's movement); analyzing speed of target, angle of movement, and range to target; wind effects; and tracking of the target. Needless to say, this is an incredibly complex task; military snipers work in teams for this reason.

If we are truly going to imagine Oswald successfully accomplishing this assassination, we must understand precisely what this would require. Accomplishing a successful strike on a distant moving target obviously requires enormous preparation and experience. It is quite easy to judge whether or not Oswald has all the requirements described above; his life is well documented, and even the Warren Report provides a biographical sketch. Norman Mailer's Oswald's Tale, *while perpetuating the lone nut myth, is a thorough examination of Oswald's life from 1959 to 1963. Unfortunately, everything Mailer and the Warren Commission say about him makes us less confident that he fits the sniper's qualifications above. Remember, Oswald would not have had much time to aim, given that the tree below the window on Elm Street obstructed the view of the President just before the first shot (CD 88). Interestingly, according to the sniper training manual, a moving target should always be shot from the front, as the target approaches the sniper, and snipers should position themselves very carefully around the target. When we consider that Oswald probably had about 5 minutes to prepare to shoot the president, and probably didn't know about the turn down Elm Street until 9:30 that morning, it becomes difficult to imagine him succeeding.*

12:31 - After the last shot, the boxes next to the window on the 6th floor are immediately moved.

The HSCA panel's analysis of the Dillard and Powell photographs, showing the 6th floor window, shows that the boxes in the window were moved between the time of the Dillard photo (taken a few seconds after the last shot) and the Powell photo (taken 30 seconds after the last shot). The FBI found that all the boxes by the window were movable by one man: two of them were fifty-five pounds while the rest were eight pounds (CD 1494).

This does not tell us, however, how or why Oswald moved the boxes alone in less than 30 seconds.

Additionally, the HSCA's photographic analysis of the Phillip Willis no. 5 photograph identifies a person standing behind the wall on the grassy knoll at a time period that is simultaneous with the first shot (HSCA Vol. 6 ch. 5).

At the time of the shooting and immediately afterward, 40-year-old TSBD employee Jack Dougherty is on the 5th floor of the building, standing 10 feet from the elevator. He does not see Oswald and does not see any strangers in the building. He stays in the building until 1:30 (CD 706, from a statement on March 18, 1964).

The FBI's Gemberling Report (CD 5) contains a list of time frames for various methods of escaping the sniper's nest. In 1 minute 45 seconds an agent was able to walk from the sniper's nest to the stairway, walk down the stairway to the first floor and walk to the front door of the building. All methods of moving from the sniper's nest to the front entrance of the building, using either the freight elevator, the stairs, or the passenger elevator, take from 1 minute 45 seconds to 3 minutes 49 seconds.

12:31½ - William Manchester (*The Death of a President*) has Baker and Truly encountering Oswald in the 2nd floor lunchroom at this time, giving Oswald 90 seconds to descend four flights of stairs without being seen by Victoria Adams or Sandra Styles, who were descending the stairs from the 4th floor at that time. Baker vouches for Oswald, telling Truly he is an employee, and the two ascend the stairs.

Fritz's "Interrogation" of November 23, 10:35 AM: "In talking with [Oswald] further about his location at the time the president was killed, he said he ate lunch with some of the colored boys who worked with him. One of them was called 'Junior' and the other one was a little short man whose name he did not know. He said he had a cheese sandwich and some fruit and that was the only package he had brought with him to work and denied that he had brought the long package described by Mr. Frazier and his sister." Note: James Jarman, whose nickname was Junior, told the Warren Commission that he did have his lunch in the lounge on the first floor but did not see Oswald there.

CE 1987 (FBI Report Nov. 25, 1963)- Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, he had eaten lunch in the lunch room in the Texas School Book Depository, alone, but recalled possibly two Negro employees walking through the room during this period. He stated possibly one of these employees was called 'Junior' and the other was a short individual whose name he could not recall but who he would be able to recognize. He stated that his lunch had consisted of a cheese sandwich and an apple which he had obtained at Mrs. Ruth Paine's residence in Irving, Texas, upon leaving for work that morning."

12:31 – Vincent Bugliosi (*Reclaiming History*) has Truly ascending the stairs to the third floor, while Baker reaches the top of the second floor stairs and scans the floor. Baker looks through the windows of the doors to the second floor, where he sees Oswald about twenty feet away, walking away from him toward the lunchroom. Baker enters the doors, points his gun at Oswald and says "Come here." Oswald calmly walks toward Baker, coming to within three feet. Truly, who has approached at this time, tells Baker that Oswald works in the building. Bugliosi does not mention a Coke or the Coke machine.

12:32 (estimated)- According to *Life Magazine*, Baker and Truly run into the building and find the elevators inoperable. They run up to the second floor. As Truly is walking up the stairs to the third floor, he notices that Baker is not with him. He runs back to the lunchroom to find Baker pointing his gun at Oswald, who is standing with his back to the Coke machine. Truly states that Oswald is an employee and the two continue up the stairs, leaving Oswald in the lunchroom.

Truly's statement to Secret Service on Jan. 8 (CD 87) is similar to this story. Baker, however, places Oswald higher up in the building: In his affidavit of the 22nd he says "As we reached the 3rd or 4th floor I saw a man walking away from the stairway. I called the man and he turned around and came toward me. The manager said, 'I know that man, he works here. I then turned the man loose and went up to the top floor. The man I saw was a white man approximately 30 years old, 5'9", 165 pounds, dark hair and wearing a light brown jacket."

Truly's statement of Nov. 23 to FBI agent Kenneth B. Jackson places Oswald in the lunch room during their encounter (CD 5).

According to his WC testimony, Truly notices that the two passenger elevators are stuck on the 5th floor when he enters the building with Baker. When they get to the 5th floor he sees that one of them is not there anymore.

12:32- Manchester has Baker searching the roof of the TSBD at this time.

12:32- Police Transcripts

Chief Curry – Go to the hospital. Parkland hospital. Have them stand by. Get men up to that overpass. See what happened up there….Move all men available to the railroad yards and determine what happened and hold everything secure until homicide and other investigators can get in there.

Sheriff J.E. Decker – Have my office move all available men out of my office into the railroad to try to determine what happened in there. Pull every one of my men in there and hold everything secure until Homicide and other investigators should get there.

Curry – Looks like the president has been…Have Parkland stand by.

Dispatcher – They have been notified.

Patrolman R.L. Gross – Dispatcher on channel 1 seems to have his mike stuck.

Dispatcher – Unknown motorcycle – up there on Stemmons with his mike stuck open on channel one. Could you tell someone up there to tell him to shut it off?

Sgt S.Q. Bellah – Do you still want me to hold this traffic on Stemmons until we find something?

Curry- Keep everything out of this emergency entrance.

According to WC testimony (V.3), after the final shot, Dallas Police Officer Eugene Boone runs west across Houston Street and cuts across the grass behind the cement works. Some of the bystanders believe the shots came from the railroad yard, so he and other officers search the rail yards and

don’t find anything. They encounter a “colored boy working on one of the pullmans” and talk to a man named Bowers who works in the train tower who “didn’t hear any shots, and he hadn’t seen anybody racing around out there in the yard.”

Victoria Adams, an employee for Scott, Foresman, and Company, in room 401 of the TSBD, watches the motorcade from her office with fellow employees Elsie Dorman, Sandra Styles and Dorothy Garner. At 12:30 they witness the assassination and watch the President’s limousine leave Dealey Plaza. She clearly mentions hearing three shots. After the third shot, she and Sandra Styles run down the stairs and leave the TSBD, running toward the railroad where they had observed other people running. They are told to return to the building, which they do. She leaves the TSBD around 2:00 or 2:30. Crucially, she does not see Oswald on the stairs after the shooting. She does not remember seeing him at all that day and saw no strangers in the building (CD 706, from a statement on March 23, 1964).

Sandra Styles leaves the TSBD with Victoria Adams immediately following the shooting, going down the back stairs. She and Adams are told by a policeman to go back into the building through the front door. They enter the TSBD and take the elevator to the 4th floor. Styles does not see Oswald at any time between leaving the office and returning to her office (CD 706).

12:31- After the assassination Secret Service Agent Bill Greer, the President’s driver, turns north on Stemmons Freeway and then takes Harry Hines Boulevard north to Parkland Hospital (Manchester).

12:32-12:34 – Georgia Hendrix, a TSBD employee for Allyn and Bacon, Inc., in room 301, watches the motorcade in Dealey Plaza. After the shooting she goes back into the building and returns to her office on the third floor at 12:34. As she goes up to the third floor immediately after the shooting, she does not see Oswald fleeing, or drinking a Coke, and has no memory of seeing him at all that day. Presumably Oswald would have been either running down the stairs, getting a Coke, or leaving the building at this time, but he has not been seen by Hendrix, Sandra Styles or Victoria Adams (CD 706, from statement on March 24, 1964).

12:33 – According to CE 1120 this is the official time Oswald leaves the front door of the TSBD. Importantly, as we see in CD 706, none of the TSBD employees standing on the front steps saw Oswald leave that day. None of the employees who were allowed to go back to their offices following the shooting saw him leave. Indeed, not a single TSBD employee witnessed Oswald walk down the stairs or exit the building. These were people who worked with Oswald and recognized him. Oswald should have been noticeable, presumably being in a hurry to leave the scene.

According to Inspector Kelley (CD 87), "After firing the shots Oswald walked from the window across the sixth floor area, hid the weapon, walked to the stairs, down the stairs to the lunch room on the second floor, spent approximately 30 seconds in the lunch room and continued down the stairs and out the front door. TIME 2:25 average walking, 2:52 with elevator waiting."

According to the *NY Times'* Nov. 22 article "Ambush Building Chosen With Care," TSBD president Jack Cason says the following: "[S]omeone could have hidden on that floor for several days without being discovered. Reserve stocks of books are more readily available in the basement and on the second and fourth floors. Only when additional copies are needed did employees of the building have occasion to go to the sixth floor. These circumstances indicated that the killer was well aware of the layout of the building and the uses of the various floors. No elevator goes to the sixth floor from the front entrances. The killer would have had to get off the elevator on the fourth floor, walk to the back of the building and take the stairs or one of two freight elevators to reach the sixth floor."

12:33 (estimated)- According to *Life*, Oswald exits the lunchroom holding a Coke. E.A. Reid tells him that the President was just shot, and he mumbles incoherently.

12:33- Manchester and Bishop have Oswald leaving the TSBD through the front entrance, giving NBC's Robert MacNeil directions to a pay phone.

12:33- Dallas Police Radio Channel One becomes unstuck, allowing police to communicate on both channels (Bishop).

12:30-12:35

(CE 1992) From statement to FBI, Nov 25: Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig is standing on Main Street, 20 feet east of Houston when he hears what he thinks is a gunshot. He walks west on Main toward Houston when he hears two more gunshots. He crosses Main Street and meets a Dallas police officer who confirms the sounds of gunshots. He walks down to the Santa Fe railroad tracks and sees a woman in a car with her engine running. He takes her to Lummy Lewis, from the Dallas Sheriff's Office, who takes her name and information. He talks to a man standing at the southwest corner of the TSBD who states that he saw a man holding a rifle in the 6th floor window of the TSBD fifteen minutes before the shooting, but assumed the man was a Secret Service agent. Craig brings this man to Lummy Lewis.

Then Craig walks to the south side of Elm Street in front of the TSBD to look for gun ricochet marks on the pavement when he hears a sharp whistling sound. He then notices a man running from the TSBD on the grass toward Elm Street. A station wagon, which Craig believes was a Nash Rambler, is driving west down Elm Street and stops at the curb. The running man gets inside the car and the two leave, traveling west on Elm. Although Craig previously believed that the driver had been a Negro, he now believes the driver was white. He describes the running man as a white male, 5'9", 140 pounds, slender build, sandy hair, brown shirt and blue trousers. Later that afternoon Craig views Oswald at the police station and states that Oswald was the running man. There is no doubt in his mind of this fact.

Richard Randolph Carr, a bystander in Dealey Plaza, walks toward the triple underpass after the shots. He sees a man coming down Houston Street whom he had seen earlier in the fifth floor window of the TSBD. This man is wearing a felt hat, heavy rimmed glasses, a tie and a tan sportcoat. The man turns and walks down Commerce Street. He looks over his shoulder frequently as though being followed. Carr also notices a Rambler station wagon heading north on the wrong side of the street next to the TSBD

facing the railroad tracks. Three men emerge from behind the depository and enter the station wagon. One of them is “dark-complected,” and the car drives north on Houston Street. This is based on an FBI interview of January 1964 and Carr’s testimony in the Clay Shaw trial in 1969 (HSCA V. 12).

Bystander James Worrell sees a man he believes to be Oswald leave through the back entrance of the TSBD, running on Houston from Elm to Pacific. This is based on a Dallas Police Department affidavit of November 23. (HSCA V. 12)

After the President’s Limousine leaves Dealey Plaza Jean Hill sees a man running along the grassy knoll toward the monument (according to Dallas PD affidavit of November 22). In an FBI statement of March 13, 1964, she describes “a white man in a brown raincoat and a hat running west away from the depository in the direction of the railroad tracks.” In the sheriff’s office on Nov. 22, when she says there were 4 or 6 shots, *several men she describes as either FBI or Secret Service tell her it was actually three shots*. Hill tells the Warren Commission that the man she saw running away from the depository resembled Jack Ruby (HSCA V. 12).

Note- The refrain of “three shots” started so quickly on the day of the assassination and was so widespread that it is hard to pinpoint its origin – especially when many witnesses heard anywhere from two to six gunshots that day. But here, in Jean Hill’s near-heroic testimony, we see one source of the “three shot” idea. One must wonder why witnesses’ honest recollections were being “corrected,” on the day of the assassination.

According to CE 2060, the Secret Service’s November 29 report on the third interview with Oswald, “[Oswald] said that when he was standing out in front of the textbook building and about to leave it, a young crew-cut man rushed up to him and said he was from the Secret Service, showed a book of identification, and asked him where the phone was. Oswald said he pointed toward a payphone in the building and that he saw the man actually go to the payphone before he left.”

NBC correspondent Robert MacNeil, from a statement of Nov. 30, in Oswald’s 201 File (Volume 20): “It was the Texas School Book Depository.

I believe I entered the front door about four minutes after the shooting. I went immediately into the clear space on the ground floor and asked where there was a phone. There were, as I recall, three men there, all I think in shirt sleeves. What, on recollection, strikes me as possibly significant is that all three seemed to be exceedingly calm and relaxed, compared to the pandemonium which existed right outside their front door. I did not pay attention to this at the time. I asked the first man I saw – a man who was telephoning from a phone by pillar in the middle of the room – where I could call from. He directed me to a man nearer the door, who pointed to an office…I made my call and left. I was in too much of a hurry to remember what the three men there looked like. But their manner was very relaxed. My New York news desk has since placed the time of my call at 12:36 Dallas time." Note that MacNeil's statement by no means implicates Oswald as the individual who gave him the directions to the phone.

During the assassination Dallas Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman is standing on the corner of Houston and Main with Deputy Bill Hutton. Somebody tells Weitzman that the shots came from the wall by the triple overpass. He runs up and scales the wall and searches the railroad yards. Directly behind the wall he finds footprints that are going in many different directions. Behind the wall there are "other officers, Secret Service as well" (WC testimony). Weitzman is just one of many who saw mysterious "Secret Service agents" in and around Dealey Plaza, giving orders to law enforcement, when all Secret Service agents were at Parkland at this time.

12:34- UPI (United Press International) announces three shots fired at the motorcade (Manchester).

12:32-35 – Police arrest hobos Gus Abrams, John Gedney, and Harold Doyle in the railyard. From "Arrest Report on Investigative Prisoner" (texashistory.unt.edu): "These men were taken off a train box car in the rail yards right after President Kennedy was shot. These men are passing through town. They have no jobs or any means of making a living."

According to CD 87 (statement to Secret Service on Jan. 8), After Truly and Baker encounter Oswald in the lunch room, the two of them walk up the stairs to the freight elevator, which they take up to the 7th floor, then go through a penthouse to the roof. They walk back down through the building,

making quick inspections of other floors, and return to the first floor where police are taking names and addresses of various people in the building. According to Truly's statement, he notices several minutes after this that Oswald is not among the other employees.

12:34 – According to CD 677 (Secret Service Chief James Rowley's memo to Warren Commission General Counsel David Belin), the motorcade reaches Parkland Hospital at this time. According to this memo, the motorcade consists of the following:

1. Lead car, with Dallas Chief of Police, Sheriff Decker, SAIC Forest Sorrels, SA Winston Lawson
2. President's car, driven by William Greer, with ASAIC Roy Kellerman, President Kennedy, the First Lady, Governor Connally, and Mrs. Connally
3. The President's follow-up car, driven by SA Samuel Kinney, occupied by ASAIC Emory Roberts, SA Clinton Hill, SA William McIntyre, SA John Ready, SA Paul Landis, SA Glen Bennett, SA George Hickey, and Mr. Dave Powers and Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell
4. Vice President's car, driven by Hurchel Jacks of Texas Department of Public Safety, occupied by ASAIC Rufus Youngblood, Vice President Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, and Senator Ralph Yarborough
5. Vice President's follow-up car, driven by Joe Henry Rich of the Texas Department of Public Safety, occupied by ATSAIC Thomas Johns, SA Jerry Kivett, SA Warren Taylor, and Mr. Cliff Carter of the Vice President's staff

12:35- JFK's Special Assistant Dave Powers carries the President on a stretcher into Parkland Hospital and takes him into Emergency Room #1 (Manchester).

12:35 -12:40- Police Transcripts

Patrolman C.A. Haygood- I just talked to a guy up here who was standing close to it and he could tell it came from the Texas School Book Depository

building…with that Hertz renting sign…

Dispatcher- 10-4. Get his name, address, telephone number there – all the information you can from him.

Sgt. D.V. Harkness- I have a witness who says it came from the 5th floor of the Texas Book Depository Store.

Patrolman Hill – Get some men up here to cover this school book depository building. It's believed the shot came from, as you see it on Elm Street, looking toward the building, it would be upper right hand corner, second window from the end.

Hill- I have one guy who was possibly hit by a ricochet from a bullet off the concrete and another one who saw the president slump.

Brewer- We have a man here who says he saw him pull the weapon back through the window from the southeast corner of that depository building.

Dispatcher – Alright, do you have the building covered off?

Brewer- No, about ¾ of a block away from there.

Assistant Chief of Police Charles Batchelor – Where did this happen – at Field and Main?

Dispatcher- At Stemmons and the Triple Underpass, 12:40 P.M. 2 (Batchelor), there's a possibility that 6 or 7 more people may have been shot.

Patrolman William Price – I believe the President's head was practically blown off.

According to Bishop, at this time Secret Service Agent Forrest Sorrels drives back to the TSBD; he has worked closely with the Dallas PD on the motorcade planning.

According to Captain Fritz, "While we were still searching the building, Mr. Roy S. Truly…reported that one of his men were missing, a Lee Harvey Oswald, whose address was 2515 W. 5th Street, Irving, Texas. We found that this man had been stopped by Officer M.L. Baker while coming down the stairs. Mr. Baker says that he stopped this man on the third or fourth floor

on the stairway, but as Mr. Truly identified him as one of the employees, he was released. After seeing that this man was apparently running, two of the detectives and myself left the building and came to the office for an identification check and other information, and soon found that he was the same man who had shot Officer Tippit" ("Note from J.W. Fritz to Jesse Curry of 23 December 1963"). *Note: This account has Oswald* running *during the Baker-Truly encounter. This also repeats Baker's odd claim that Oswald was on the third or fourth floor.*

According to Bishop, at this time the police round up all the TSBD employees on the first floor and Truly begins counting them off. Truly tells police that a black employee named Charles Givens is absent. Bishop claims that this is when Truly realizes that Oswald is also absent, and he tells Captain Fritz of this information. However, this conflicts with other accounts from 1:25 below.

(CE 2146) WFAA TV Reel, "Interview with Police Chief Jesse Curry," November 23, 1963:

Q – What time is established – how Oswald got to the other side of town – is there anything that can be come up about – did he get over by a bus, by a car, did he have to walk?

Curry- I don't know. We have understood that he was picked up by a Negro in a car.

Q- That is not confirmed?

Curry – No, it is not confirmed, as far as I know.

Q- Are you looking for the Negro?

Curry – We would like to know about him if this is so; we would certainly like to find him.

Q- Chief Curry, would you detail for us what led you to Oswald?

Curry – Not exactly, except in the building, we, when we went to the building why he was observed in the building at the time; but the manager told us that he worked there and they passed him on the way up then because the manager said he is an employee.

Q- Is that before the shooting or after?

Curry- After...

Q- Did you say, Chief, that a policeman had seen him in the building?

Curry- Yes.

Q- After the shot was fired?

Curry – Yes.

Q- Why didn’t he arrest him then?

Curry – Because the manager of the place told us that he was an employee. Said, “He’s alright, he’s an employee.”

Q- Did he look suspicious to the policeman at this point?

Curry- I imagine the policeman was checking everyone he saw as he went into the building.

Q- Chief, after this happened, what was done in terms of getting the trail back to Oswald?

Curry – The next thing we know is when he turned up as a suspect in the murder of the police officer – and then the connection we made between the two.

Police Transcripts

12:35

Patrolman C.A. Haygood: I just talked to a guy up here who was standing close to it and the best he could tell it came from the Texas School Book Depository Building here with that Hertz Renting sign on top.

Dispatcher (Henslee)- Get his name, address, telephone number there – all the information you can get from him.

12:35 – Captain J.W. Fritz, who is stationed at the International Trade Mart with Officers Sims and Boyd, is told by Chief Stevenson that the president has been shot underneath the underpass. Stevenson has apparently received this information from a Secret Service agent who received the information

on a transistor radio. Stevenson tells Fritz, Sims and Boyd to go directly to Parkland Hospital and they leave (WC testimony).

12:33-12:36: Oswald walks to the bus stop.

Vida Lee Whatley, a TSBD worker, is shopping on Elm Street when the President is shot. She is walking on Elm between the Moses and Kress stores when a stranger tells her that the President has been shot. She does not see Oswald, on what is presumably his escape route to the bus stop (CD 706, from a statement on March 3, 1964).

CE 1987 (FBI Report dated November 25, 1963)- "The distance from the front door of 411 Elm Street (the Texas School Book Depository Building) to the bus stop at Murphy and Elm streets in Dallas was walked three times by SA Lee, and the average time was 6 ½ minutes. This is a distance of approximately 7 blocks."

From Kelley's timeline (CD 87): "Front door to Murphy and Elm Street where he boarded bus, via Main Street 7 blocks. TIME 4:30 minutes."

The two reports above give quite different time frames for Oswald's journey from the TSBD to the bus stop. If he left at 12:33, Kelley's timeline places him at the bus at 12:37, which is consistent with McWatter's testimony below, but the timeline from CE 1987 has Oswald getting on the bus around 12:40, when he should've been on the bus for several minutes already according to McWatters's schedule. Obviously this has importance because it determines when Oswald left the TSBD (and where he was when Kennedy was shot), assuming we believe that he did indeed get on the bus that day. It seems increasingly likely that, assuming he got on McWatter's bus, he left the TSBD immediately after the assassination at 12:30. This is the only way he would have time to walk the 7 blocks to the bus. See below, 12:40.

12:35 – *Life* has Oswald leaving through the front door of the TSBD at this time.

12:35- Inspector Herbert Sawyer, who has been stationed on Main Street between Akard and Harwood doing crowd detail for the motorcade, arrives at Dealey Plaza after hearing about the shooting. He enters the TSBD with

other officers and takes the passenger elevator to the top floor (WC testimony).

12:35-12:40 – From CD 1134: A 31-year-old man is arrested in the railroad warehouses near the TSBD. The man is armed at the time of arrest. (*Dallas Times Herald* Dec. 8, quoted in Joachim Joesten, *Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy?*)

Sometime several minutes after the assassination, Oswald's supervisor, William Shelley, who is watching the motorcade in Dealey Plaza, enters the TSBD and is told by Roy Truly to guard the elevators and not let anyone use them. After this, some "plainclothesmen" enter and ask Shelley to take them to the sixth floor. Despite being told not to let anyone in the building, he takes them upstairs on the elevators and they search the sixth floor. They find the chicken lunch eaten by Bonnie Ray Williams at the third window from the southeast corner. This places Williams remarkably close to the sniper's nest at around 12:15-12:20, just minutes before someone was ostensibly there preparing to shoot the president (WC testimony).

Unknown time - A man is arrested by Officer W.E.B. Barker on the third floor of the TSBD after being identified by employees. He is wearing horn-rimmed glasses, a checked jacket, and a raincoat. He is taken to Sheriff Decker's office across the street (*Dallas Times Herald* Nov. 22, qtd. in Joesten)

12:36 – ABC announces the shooting, breaking into pre-scheduled programming (Manchester).

12:36 – JFK reaches Parkland Hospital (Manchester). Immediately after this, Secret Service Agent Forrest Sorrels gets in a police car to return to Dealey Plaza "Because I wanted to get there and get something going in establishing who the people were that were in that vicinity" (WC testimony).

According to Sergeant Harkness's WC testimony the TSBD is completely sealed off from the public by this time, and he goes to the back of the TSBD and finds several men who claim to be Secret Service agents, just standing around. He does not identify them. These are clearly not Secret Service,

since they are all at Parkland at this time and Agent Sorrels will be the only Secret Service Agent in Dealey Plaza the whole day.

12:36– Cecil J. McWatters, bus driver for the Dallas Transit Company, leaves the corner of Elm and St. Paul streets at 12:36, traveling down Elm Street in the direction of the TSBD. He has been ahead of his schedule so he has waited one minute before leaving the stop. He has stops at Ervay, Akard, and Field Streets. Traffic slows down and the bus comes to a stop at the corner of Elm and Field streets, where Oswald knocks on the door of the bus. McWatters lets him on and Oswald pays the 23 cent fare. Oswald is wearing "work clothes, just some type of little old jacket." He sits alone in the second cross seat. The bus travels two blocks and comes to a stop in heavy traffic. Before Oswald gets off, a man gets out of a car stuck in traffic ahead of the bus and enters the bus to inform McWatters that the President has been shot – this occurs between Poydras and Lamar. Three or four minutes have passed while waiting at this intersection. Oswald asks for a transfer and gets off the bus here. McWatters does not pay any particular attention to Oswald and does not remember anything notable about him. (WC Volume 2).

It should be noted that Cecil McWatters's bus is heading straight toward the corner of Houston and Elm streets, where it would turn left at Houston, pass the TSBD on its right (and the Sheriff's Department on its left), and travel south down Houston. It is strange to imagine Oswald taking a bus straight past the scene of the crime, which by now would be full of police looking for him. He would be heading into a place where the bus was likely to be pulled over and all its occupants searched by police (as it was, according to Milton Jones's FBI testimony). Oswald would have known the bus route, having taken it every day to and from work. Also, the Marsalis bus was a completely logical bus for him to take - going south down Marsalis it would have stopped, probably at 5th street, a 10 minute walk or short bus ride from his house at 1026 North Beckley.

Dallas City Attorney Henry Wade tells the *NY Times* on Nov. 24 that Oswald "told the bus driver that the president had been shot, and laughed" ("Evidence Offered," Nov. 24).

12:32-12:36- According to CE 1985, FBI report of Nov. 24, Mary Bledsoe, Oswald's former landlord at 621 N. Marsalis (who had evicted him), gets on McWatters's bus at St. Paul and Elm approximately ten minutes after she watches the motorcade pass by St. Paul and Main Street (12:22). Shortly after this, Oswald gets on the bus at Murphy Street. She states that Oswald got on, paid his fare, and went to the back of the bus, appearing "somewhat nervous." She remarks that he was wearing dirty clothes, which she considers strange considering that he always kept a clean appearance when rented a room from her. The driver tells the passengers that the President has been shot. Almost immediately Oswald gets off the bus, two blocks further down Elm Street than when he had gotten on. Oswald leaves through the front door of the bus, although the side door is closer. Bledsoe's testimony, while implicating Oswald as "somewhat nervous," suggests a far too early boarding time for Oswald, considering what he has had to do in this brief period of time (see below).

J. Edgar Hoover, in his conversation with Lyndon Johnson on 11/29 (maryferrell.org): "On that floor, we found the three empty shells that had been fired and one shell that had not been fired…in other words, there were four shells apparently and he had fired three, but didn't fire the fourth one. He then threw the gun aside and came down…at the entrance of the building…he was stopped by police officers and some manager in the building told the police officers, 'well, he's alright…he works there…you needn't hold him.' They let him go. That is how he got out. And then he got on a bus, bus driver has identified him and [he] went out to his home…and got hold of a jacket…that he wanted for some purpose…and came back downtown…walking downtown…and the police officer who was killed… stopped him…not knowing who he was and not knowing whether he was THE man…but just on suspicion…and he fired of course and killed the police officer…Then he walked…"

LBJ- You can prove that?

Hoover- Oh yes, oh yes, we can prove that.

12:37- Joachim Joesten places Oswald on Pacific Street, behind the TSBD, at this time, giving time for Oswald to drink his Coke, learn of the shooting (and that there would be no more work that day), talk to Truly and Baker,

and to leave the building through the growing crowd of people. He attests that Oswald could not have been running, seeing as he would have been arrested as a suspect (as others were that day). According to the Warren Report itself, McWatters's bus route was heading back in the direction of the TSBD on its way to Oak Cliff. Since Oswald took the bus every day, he clearly knew this.

Police Transcripts

12:37

Patrolman E.D. Brewer: We have a man up here who says he saw him pull the weapon back through the window from the southeast corner of that depository building.

12:37 – Inspector Sawyer comes back to the first floor of the TSBD after searching the top floor of the building and finding no one hiding there. He tells other officers at the front of the building to not let anyone in or out (WC testimony). At around this time he orders Harkness to go into the railroad yard and check any trains that are leaving. Harkness goes to the railroad yard with several other officers and arrests the three tramps.

Officer Clyde Haygood sees a black man at the rear entrance to the TSBD. He has been there for about five minutes and has seen no one come in or out.

12:37 – Parkland Hospital receives a phone call from the Dallas Police Department. Head nurse Doris Nelson is told that the President has been shot and will be coming to the emergency room (Charles Crenshaw, *JFK Has Been Shot*).

12:38- At Parkland Hospital, surgeon Charles Crenshaw is told by an assistant that the President has been shot. He tells Dr. Robert McClelland, and the two of them go to the emergency room where they find JFK and Connally. The President is logged in as patient 24740 and Governor Connally as 24743.

12:39 – Bugliosi has Oswald entering the bus.

12:39 – United Press International reports that Kennedy is seriously wounded by an assassin's bullet (Bishop).

12:40 – By this time Chief Curry and Sheriff J.E. Decker are at Parkland, according to police radio transcripts.

12:40 - Jack Ruby is seen at the *Dallas Morning News* offices, where he hears that the President has been shot (HSCA V. 9).

12:40- Dr. Crenshaw examines JFK and sees that Drs. Malcolm Perry and Jim Carrico have already inserted a breathing tube into the President's throat. The right hemisphere of JFK's head is missing, "beginning at his hairline and extending all the way behind his right ear." Crenshaw has no doubt that a bullet has entered the head from the front, and "as it surgically passed through his cranium, the missile obliterated part of the temporal and all the parietal and occipital lobes before it lacerated the cerebellum." Part of the cerebellum is "dangling from the back of his head by a single strand of tissue." Crenshaw clearly sees an entry bullet hole in the President's throat. At this time Secret Service agent Clint Hill is waving a .loaded 38 caliber pistol in the air, pacing wildly around the room (Crenshaw).

12:40 – *Life* and Manchester have Oswald entering the bus.

12:40 – Oswald most likely gets off the bus at this time. According to CE 378, Cecil McWatters's bus schedule, this is the time for the bus's arrival at Lamar, when the bus comes to a stop in heavy traffic, and a man gets on the bus to tell everyone that the President had just been shot. Oswald gets off the bus immediately after this. Recall that McWatters was on schedule up until the slowdown at Lamar. This means Oswald has already been on the bus sitting in traffic for several minutes. This creates a scenario in which Oswald leaves the TSBD at 12:33 (or 12:35 according to *Life*) and approaches the bus, 7 blocks away, sometime between 12:36 and 12:39, and gets on calmly, showing no signs of nervousness (according to McWatters and Jones), and *pays the correct fare*. In this scenario, in 6-9 minutes he has: shot and killed the president, moved the boxes in front of the window, stored his rifle in between two boxes on the opposite side of the building

(see 1:23 below), run down six flights of stairs, gotten a Coke on the 2nd floor, calmly stood drinking it while Baker and Truly run past him, left the TSBD through a panicking crowd of people, given directions to a payphone to someone he believed was a Secret Service agent, and traveled seven blocks on foot to calmly get on a bus that was heading back toward the scene of his crime.

Later that day, at 6:30, McWatters is unable to positively identify Oswald in a police lineup but says he looks similar to the man who knocked on the door of the bus. He describes Oswald as 135-140 pounds, around 5'7" or 5'8" and tells the Warren Commission that he had mistaken Oswald for a 17-year-old boy named Milton Jones who was also on the bus that day. McWatters refers to Oswald as the shortest man in the lineup and recognizes Oswald's transfer given to him by police as his own (given by him).

Google Maps gives the walking time from the TSBD to Elm and Field, where Oswald boarded the bus (according to McWatters), as 8 minutes. This has Oswald boarding the bus at 12:41 at the earliest, assuming he left the TSBD at the Warren Commission's given time of 12:33, which in itself is hard to believe. All of this forces one to accept that Oswald most likely left the TSBD almost immediately after Kennedy was shot, at 12:30. This, of course, places him on the first floor or on the steps of the front entrance of the TSBD, where Sean Murphy argues he was standing during the assassination (see Stan Dane's *Prayer Man: The Exoneration of Lee Harvey Oswald)*. If, however, Oswald ran out of the TSBD and entered a Nash Rambler, as Roger Craig swore he did, the difficult timing of the bus entry is not an issue. It is by no means certain that Oswald did get on the bus.

12:40- Dallas Patrol Officer M.N. McDonald, on his way to Dealey Plaza, hears the description of the suspect: White male, approximately 27, 29 years old, and he had a white shirt on, weighed about 160 pounds" (WC 3). According to police dictabelt transcripts this couldn't have happened until 12:45. This description presumably comes from Howard Brennan, since he claims to have seen the shooter, but there is no evidence among the police transcripts that the 12:45 description came from him.

From Kelley's timeline (CD 87): "Bus ride to Elm and Poydras, 2 blocks. TIME 4:00 minutes average."

Captain Fritz's "Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald": (From interview with Oswald, Nov. 23, 10:35 AM) "During this interview I asked Oswald about leaving the building, and he told me he left by bus and rode to a stop near home and walked on to his house. At the time of Oswald's arrest he had a bus transfer in his pocket. He admitted this was given to him by the bus driver when he rode the bus after leaving the building."

From CE 2641 (FBI Letter, April 3, 1964): "On March 30, 1964, Roy Milton Jones, 512 East Brownlee Street, Dallas, Texas, advised he is an 11th grade student attending half-day sessions at the N.H. Crozier Technical High School, Live Oak and Bryan Streets, and is employed part time as a clerk at Buddies Supermarket, Tenth and Jefferson Streets, Dallas, Texas. Jones stated that he uses the name Milton Jones and is better known by this name at school and at work…

"Jones advised that before the bus was stopped the driver made his last passenger pickup approximately six blocks before Houston Street, that one was a blonde-haired woman and the other was a dark-haired man. He said that the man sat in the seat directly behind him and the woman occupied a seat further to the rear of the bus. Jones advised that when the bus was stopped by traffic, and prior to the appearance of the police officers, the woman left the bus by the rear door and the man who was sitting behind him left the bus by the front door while it was held up in the middle of the block. Jones stated he did not observe this man closely since he sat behind him in the bus, but, on the following Monday when he took the same bus going home from school from the same driver, the driver told him he thought the man might have been Lee Harvey Oswald…

"With regard to this man who sat behind him, Jones stated he did not notice anything unusual about the man when he boarded the bus or when he left it. He said the man was not carrying any packages and he certainly did not see a gun in his possession at any time. He said the man did not appear nervous or excited and seemed to him to be an ordinary passenger. He described this man as follows:

Race: White

Sex: Male

Age: 30-35

Height: 5’11”

Weight: 150

Build: Medium

Remarks: Wore no glasses and no hat

Hair: Dark brown, receding at temples

Dress: Light blue jacket and gray khaki trousers.”

Note: Based on eyewitness testimony, it is still uncertain that Oswald did get on McWatters’s bus. However, Oswald’s possession of McWatters’s transfer makes it more likely. What is remarkable is that Jones and McWatters did not notice anything odd about Oswald at the time. He clearly was not behaving suspiciously or nervously, less than 10 minutes after the assassination. Lone nut theorists have Oswald walking down 10th Street like a maniac at 1:15, 45 minutes after the assassination, behaving so strangely that he arouses the suspicions of J.D. Tippit. Similarly, we are told that Oswald was behaving like a maniac an hour after the assassination outside Johnny Brewer’s shoe store, when he was quite calm between 12:31 and 12:45 (See William Whaley’s testimony at 12:45). Of course, it is tempting to imagine Oswald realizing that he has been set up in some way; one can picture Oswald becoming more nervous and perhaps paranoid once he suspects he will be framed or involved with the assassination. This scenario would not be incompatible with Oswald’s complex relationship with the CIA as detailed in John Newman’s Oswald and the CIA.

12:43 – Bugliosi has Oswald exiting the bus at this time.

12:43-12:44 – Police Transcripts

Captain C.E. Talbert – Are you having them contain that block or 2 block area?

Dispatcher – Yes, we are trying to seal off that building until it can be searched.

Inspector J.H. Sawyer (9)– The weapon looked like a 30-30 rifle or some type of Winchester.

Dispatcher- 9, it was a rifle?

Sawyer- A rifle, yes.

Dispatcher – Any clothing description?

Sawyer- About 30, 5'10", 165 pounds.

Note: 12:44 is the earliest time this physical description appears on police transcripts, and we are not told through the transcripts who provided it. As Sawyer testified to the Warren Commission, "That description came to me mainly from one witness who claimed to have seen the rifle barrel in the fifth or sixth floor of the building, and claimed to have been able to see the man up there." Sawyer never learned the man's name (he tells the WC, " I remember that he was a white man and that he wasn't young and he wasn't old"). As we know, Oswald was in reality 24, and a shorter and lighter man (he gave his own height and weight as 5'9" and 150 pounds on his TSBD employment application on October 15, 1963). The erroneous 165-5'10" description of Oswald would not be notable if it weren't present in multiple government files dating as early as 1959 (when Oswald attempted to defect to the USSR), including FBI Agent Fain's report of 1961 (in which the description apparently comes from Oswald's mother) and in the CIA's 201 file on Oswald. Notable in the 201 file is a cable of October 10, 1963, regarding Oswald's mysterious trip to Mexico City, which describes him as "probably identical to Lee Henry Oswald" and lists his physical characteristics as "Five feet ten inches, one hundred sixty-five pounds, light brown wavy hair, blue eyes." See Peter Dale Scott's Dallas '63 *for more on the CIA's dissemination of false data on Oswald from 1959-1963. Ostensibly the description of the suspect given by Sawyer above is the reason that J.D. Tippit stopped Oswald on 10th street, even though Oswald was younger and smaller than that, and was several miles away from the crime scene. We must question the likelihood of Howard Brennan (or any other bystander) describing Oswald with the same incorrect weight-height*

combination the CIA had used for four years in confidential documents. As WC counsel Wesley Liebeler pointed out in his memorandum of September 6, 1964, there was simply no evidence that the Oswald description of 12:44 came from Brennan, and the Warren Report never explicitly claims that it did (HSCA Exhibit 36). What is also notable about the description above is the absence of clothing description. Notice that every single witness to Tippit's killer provides clothing descriptions to police at the scene. In the transcripts, officers ask the dispatcher multiple times if there any clothing descriptions of the Dealey Plaza suspect. This shows that it was normal and expected for witnesses to provide this information.

According to the official story, by 12:43 Inspector Sawyer, who is the most senior officer at the crime scene, has received the description above from Howard Brennan, and does not bother to even ask him for his name. But according to Sawyer's WC testimony, this whole story is suspicious: "I set up a command post in front. The various officers were bringing up different witnesses who had seen various things, and I saw that this was quite an involved situation. It was so many of these people that had information, that I knew I didn't have time to take this information down, and by this time several deputy sheriffs were standing there, and one of them, I think he was a supervisor, I had his name at one time, I can't think of it now, was there, and he offered the use of an interrogation room of Sheriff Decker's office, I think he said, for interrogating these people…It is southeast across the street from the Texas School Book Depository, at least from the corner, and so we set up a group of officers and deputy sheriffs who were to take charge of the witnesses and take them over to see that affidavits were taken from them." It is unlikely the description of 12:44 came from Howard Brennan. As Sawyer says, "Well, during the entire period of time that I was there, I would venture to say between 25 to 50 people had come up with information of one kind of another." Sawyer, who was an Inspector, and was in the process of moving the witnesses to Sheriff Decker's office to get proper affidavits from them, would have known how reckless and improper it would be to choose the physical description of one random bystander out of dozens, and to give this to the dispatcher. At this time Sawyer must have been busy sealing off the building, managing the deputy sheriffs' attempts to take affidavits, overseeing the search of the

building, and organizing the dozens of witnesses. The story would be feasible if a fellow police officer had seen the gunman on the 6th floor and then gave Sawyer the description. At least that would have been a more believable cover-up.

All this would suggest that the description above came from one of the "fake" Secret Service agents who were directing the operation. Only someone of this level of authority would succeed in providing information to Sawyer that he believed was valid enough to relay to the dispatcher. Brennan was clearly coached or threatened later, and his statements fall in line with the official story.

12:44 – According to CE 1120, "Off bus, between Poydras St. and Lerner St." *Lerner must be a mistake for Lamar.*

From Kelley's Timeline (CD 87): "Elm and Poydras (walking) to cab stand, 4 blocks. TIME 3:00 minutes.)

CE 1987 – "The distance from the bus stop at Poydras and Elm streets to the cab stand at the northwest corner of Lamar and Jackson streets, four city blocks, was walked by SA Lee in three minutes."

Manchester has Oswald exiting the bus at 12:44.

12:45 – Bugliosi has Oswald getting in Whaley's cab at this time.

12:45 –About 15 minutes after E.A. Reid's encounter with Oswald, Truly notices that Oswald is missing (FBI interview with Truly on Nov. 23rd from CD 5).

Police Transcripts

12:45– Dispatcher (Sergeant G.D. Henslee): "Attention all squads. Attention all squads. At Elm and Houston reported to be an unknown white male, approximately 30, slender build, height 5 feet 10 inches, weight 165 pounds, reported to be armed with what is believed to be a .30 caliber rifle. Attention, all squads, the suspect is believed to be a white male, 30, five feet ten inches, slender build, 165 pounds, armed with what is thought to be a 30-30 rifle. No further description or information at this time" (CD 1420).

233 –(Forston) – He is thought to be in this Texas School Book Depository here on Northwest corner Elm and Houston.

12:45 - Joesten believes Oswald could not have gotten on the bus until this time.

12:45- According to Dallas PD radio log (CE 705), the dispatcher orders Patrolman R.C. Nelson and J.D. Tippit into Oak Cliff area. Tippit says he is at Kiest and Bonnieview, which is 6.2 miles away from his last known location (his house at 238 Glencairn Drive, where he went for lunch at 12:00). This is Tippit's last communication until 12:54. Silvia Meagher question order to move into Oak Cliff, which "makes no sense," and observes that no similar orders in the chaotic fifteen minutes following the assassination (for officers to move into areas other than downtown) were given to anyone besides Nelson and Tippit. See CD 1108 for confirmation of this. This FBI memorandum reports on the whereabouts and assignments of all police officers during and after the assassination. Meagher also questions the authenticity of the 12:45 order for Tippit and Nelson to go into Oak Cliff, noting that the first transcript of the radio log produced in December 1963 did not include this order (it was included in all subsequent editions). The University of Virginia's dictabelt recording from channel 1 (available on YouTube) confirms that the dispatcher did in fact order Nelson and Tippit into the central Oak Cliff area (unless the recording itself has been tampered with). Strangely, neither of them are told what to do in Oak Cliff, or why they are being sent there.

The vast majority of officers are assigned to the TSBD and immediate vicinity after 12:30. Those who are not at the TSBD are assigned to, or already at, Love Field or Parkland Hospital. A very few officers remain in their usual districts to set up road blocks. Tippit's assignment was unique in that he was told to leave his district and go to an area other than Dealey Plaza, Parkland Hospital, or Love Field. It is notable that Oak Cliff was where Oswald lived, and that this was before Oswald was a suspect – and that Tippit was the only officer other than Nelson who was sent there.

According to McBride, Tippit is *not* at Kiest and Bonnieview, where he claims to be. He is in fact at the Gloco gas station at 1502 North Zang Boulevard, watching the Houston Street viaduct and waiting for someone to

cross it. This is according to five witnesses. Bishop has Tippit parking at the viaduct at Eight Street and Corinth Street, “sealing off one of the seven ways of getting out of downtown Dallas to the south.” According to Bishop, after this, Tippit turns west into Oak Cliff and patrols the neighborhood. Bishop does not think it strange that Tippit is on this errand so far away from all locations relevant to the crime, and not a part of District 78. He claims that this is “solid thinking on Tippit’s part because he had effectively sealed off one of the seven ways of getting out of downtown Dallas to the south.”

Tippit’s father (interviewed by McBride) claimed that Tippit’s wife Marie had been told later about Tippit’s duties after 12:30 by another police officer on duty that day. The elder Tippit claimed that his son and Officer Nelson had been sent to Oak Cliff for the express purpose of intercepting Oswald, who was supposed to be heading in that direction. Strangely, Officer Nelson did *not* move into Oak Cliff and instead went to Dealey Plaza, where he was at 12:51. Bugliosi does not question the purpose of dispatcher Murray Jackson ordering Nelson and Tippit into Oak Cliff, and does not question Nelson’s disobedience, stating that Jackson “Decides to let him go.”

Meagher believes that Tippit was never officially told to go into Oak Cliff, and was there on “clandestine activities” which were covered up by the Warren Commission.

12:45 (estimated)- *Life* has Oswald “running” two blocks to Whaley’s taxi at this time.

At 12:45 Captain Fritz, Boyd and Sims arrive at Parkland Hospital. Fritz encounters Chief Curry at the hospital and tells him that he feels they should be at the scene of the crime and not the hospital, and Curry says “Go ahead.” Fritz, Curry and Sims then get back in their car and head toward Dealey Plaza.

12:48- Oswald enters William Whaley’s taxi (CE 1120).

According to Manchester, Whaley thinks Oswald is a “wino two days off the bottle.”

Unknown Time (WC V.2) – In WC testimony, William Whaley says he is parked at the Greyhound stand at Jackson and Lamar when he sees Oswald walking south down Lamar from Commerce. He doesn't pay much attention to Oswald's clothes, but it all comes back to him when he finds out who Oswald is later. Whaley describes Oswald's clothes as not khaki pants but khaki material, "like a blue uniform made in khaki… brown shirt with a little silverlike stripe on it…some kind of jacket, I didn't notice very close but I think it was a work jacket that almost matched the pants…his shirt was open three buttons down here. He had on a t-shirt. You know, the shirt was open three buttons down here."

Oswald says, "May I have the cab?" Whaley says, "You sure can. Get in." Oswald gets in the front seat. An old lady sticks her head in the cab and asks if Whaley can call her a cab. Oswald says, "I will let you have this one." She says, "No, the driver can call me one."

Oswald asks to be taken to 500 N. Beckley. Whaley begins driving, notices the police sirens and asks "I wonder what the hell is the uproar." Oswald says nothing. Whaley pulls up to 500 N. Beckley, heading south, and parks. Oswald leaves and Whaley doesn't notice which way he walks. Whaley remembers that Oswald was wearing a bracelet on his left arm, which looked like an identification bracelet of some kind. Whaley estimates the distance traveled as 2.5 miles, at a cost of 95 cents. Cannot tell how much time elapsed during the trip, but later when reproducing the trip with a police officer the trip is timed at 9 minutes. Identifies Oswald's shirt when it is shown to him by Mr. Ball of the Commission.

Whaley recognizes Oswald as his passenger when he sees Oswald's picture in the newspaper. He tells his superiors the next day, who call the police. Whaley is taken to the Dallas police station on the 23rd where he meets with Dallas County Assistant District Attorney Bill Alexander and "two or three who were FBI men," all of whom take his deposition. Whaley is taken to a lineup of suspects downstairs. He is shown "six men, young teenagers, and they were all handcuffed together." Oswald is wearing black pants and white t-shirt, and Oswald is yelling at the policemen, complaining about being put on display with these younger men. Whaley easily identifies

Oswald because of his behavior and his age when compared to the teenagers.

Whaley says when Oswald entered the cab he “Wasn’t in any hurry. He wasn’t nervous or anything.” He didn’t run, and his clothes were dirty as if he’d slept in them.

CD 87 – Cab stand at Jackson and Lamar to 500 Beckley, estimated 35 mph. 2.6 miles. TIME 7:00 minutes.

Fritz’s “Interrogation” from Nov. 22, 10:35 AM: “One of the officers had told me that a cab driver, William Wayne Whaley, thought he had recognized Oswald’s picture as the man who had gotten in his cab near the bus station and rode to Beckley Avenue. I asked Oswald if he had ridden a cab on that day, and he said, ‘Yes, I did ride in the cab. The bus I got on near work got into heavy traffic and was traveling too slow, and I got off and caught a cab.’ I asked him about his conversation with the cab driver, and he remembered that when he got in the cab a lady came up who also wanted a cab, and he told Oswald to tell the lady to ‘take another cab.’”

Kelley’s “First Interview of Lee Harvey Oswald”: “Fritz asked him if he had ridden a taxi that day and Oswald then changed his story and said that when he got on the bus he found that it was going too slow and after two blocks he got off the bus and took a cab to his home; that he passed the time with the cab driver and that the cab driver had told him the President was shot. He paid a cab fair of 85 cents. In response to questions, he said that this was the first time he had ever ridden a cab since a bus was always available.”

From CE 2593- Letter from FBI to Commission dated August 21, 1963: “Mileage from cab stand, Greyhound Bus Station, on Lamar between Jackson and Commerce to the intersection of Beckley and Neeley Streets is 2.5 miles. The following route was used for measurement: Lamar south to Jackson, west on Jackson to Austin, south on Austin to Wood, west on Wood to Houston, south and southwest on Houston to Beckley, south on Beckley to Neeley.”

12:48 – Police Transcripts

Dispatcher– Signal 19 (shooting) involving the President – suspect white male, 30, slender build, 5 feet 10 inches, 165 pounds, believed to have used a .30 caliber rifle, believed to be in School Book Depository Building, Elm and Houston at this time. 12:48.

Captain C.E. Talbert – 15's at the scene. The building is the old Purse Company at the east side of Houston. Have that cut off on the back side, will you? Make sure nobody leaves there.

Unknown – Any clothing description?

Dispatcher – No clothing description. A white male approximately 30, slender build, 5'10", weight 165.

Talbert – Could 9 (Sawyer) determine whether man was supposed to have been still in the building or was he supposed to have left?

Dispatcher- I didn't know for sure and the witnesses didn't have the description but we have got that building [sic] by now and we should have something before long.

Sawyer- On this building, it's unknown whether he is still in the building or not known if he was there in the first place.

Sgt. G.D. Henslee – Well, all the information we have received, 9 indicates that it did come from the 5th or 4th floor of that building.

Deputy Chief of Police George L. Lumpkin (5) – What building?

Dispatcher- The Texas School Book and Depository building, 5, at Elm and Houston.

Note – At this time, roughly 12:50, Truly clearly hasn't told officers that Oswald is missing yet. Officers still do not have any idea who the suspect is or where he could be. See 1:25 below. Also note that the initial descriptions of Oswald do not include clothing, but they consist entirely of oddly specific height, weight and age. This description, we are led to believe, comes entirely from Howard Brennan, who saw the shooter from the ground, 90 yards away. If indeed Oswald was a patsy, as he said he was, it would make sense for the 12:44 description not to include clothing, since those who framed him probably would not know what he would be wearing that day.

12:49 – Reporters at Parkland Hospital note that two priests have entered the building (Bishop).

12:50- According to Manchester, “Secret Service Agent Sorrels finds rear door of Depository unguarded by police; asks Truly to draw up a list of his employees” (See 12:55 for Sorrels’s arrival in Dealey Plaza). This is all that Manchester says of Sorrels’s activities in Dealey Plaza after the assassination.

12:52 – Bugliosi has Oswald leaving the taxi here, two minutes earlier than established tradition.

12:52 - Joesten believes Oswald could not have gotten in the taxi until this time.

12:54- Police Transcripts

Dispatcher to Patrolman JD Tippit - You are in the Oak Cliff area, are you not?

Tippit- Lancaster and 8th. (Note: This is district 109, not the district where Tippit was killed.)

Dispatcher – You will be at large for any emergency that comes in.

Tippit- 10-4.

Talbert – 15 (Sgt. Jennings) has got about six men checking out that railroad yard, back toward that direction. If you get any information on the shooting…(Garbled)

260 (Harkness) – Give us 508 (crime laboratory station wagon, W.E. Barnes) down to the Texas School Book Depository…It will be a hard one to search out thoroughly without those dogs.

Talbert – I think 5 (Deputy Chief George L. Lumpkin) and 9 (Inspector J.H. Sawyer) both are in the building.

Dispatcher – 78 (Tippit) location… (CD 1420)

Tippit never communicates with the dispatcher, or anyone else, between his last dispatch at 12:54 and the time of his death, presumably at 1:15. He does not tell the dispatcher that he is pursuing a suspect who looks like the

President's killer. Tippit, like all other officers, had no idea that the suspect was Oswald, or that Oswald had left the TSBD. He had only received the description that went out at 12:45, 12:48, and 12:55. (See 1:08 below.)

12:54- FBI Interview with Tippit's supervisor Calvin B. Owens (March 17, 1964): "On November 22, 1963, TIPPIT was assigned, alone, to patrol District 78, which bordered by the Trinity River on the east and northeast, Southerland Avenue on the northwest, Sunnyvale and Dante Streets on the west, and Loop 13 or Ledbetter on the south. Sergeant Owens explained that assignment of an officer to an area does not restrict them to that area, in cases of emergency, and due to the extreme emergency of November 22, 1963, numerous patrol units were assigned to different areas. Sergeant Owens cited, for example, that units assigned to districts 95 and 51 had been sent to the downtown area of Dallas immediately after the shooting of President Kennedy. According to Sergeant Owens, Officer Tippit had gone home to eat lunch, which was a normal and approved procedure, at about noontime. Sergeant Owens advised he could not furnish any information as to when or how Tippit's assignment from District 78 had changed as he, Owens, had gone to lunch and had not returned during the time that Tippit's assignment had changed. Tippit had been assigned to district 78 for about six months to a year and had been previously assigned to patrol districts 83 and 84 for three years. His assignment in each case was to patrol the area."

In his WC testimony Owens is asked why Tippit was in district 109 at 12:54. John Ely asks if Tippit was filling in for police who had been assigned to Elm and Houston at the TSBD. Owens replies, "That's what I think – not only filling in, but also looking for the suspect, because he heard about the shooting and the general description of the suspect, and not knowing which way he went, but he could have gone any way, then he is going to head downtown as soon as possible so if he sees someone answering that description, he can apprehend him."

12:54- Oswald gets out of the cab on the 500 block of N. Beckley (CE 1120) His apartment is at 1026 N. Beckley. This time is echoed by Manchester.

CE 1987- "The distance from the 500 block of North Beckley to the 1026 North Beckley, 4/10 of a mile, was walked by SA Barrett in six minutes."

12:55- According to Bishop, within twenty-five minutes Secret Service Agent Forrest Sorrels is back inside the TSBD (he is the only Secret Service Agent who returns to the scene of the crime that day). He notices that the TSBD is not in fact sealed as the Dallas PD claims it was at 12:36. It should be noted that numerous witnesses interacted with multiple men immediately after the assassination around Dealey Plaza who claimed to be Secret Service, and were dressed similarly. However, all SS agents except for Sorrels appear to have been at Parkland following the shooting. According to Sorrels's WC testimony, he goes directly in through the back door of the TSBD at around this time. He finds Roy Truly and tells him to take a roll call of the building (Sorrels's role in the roll call is not repeated anywhere else). Sorrels then speaks to Howard Brennan and gets a vague description of the 6th floor shooter – slim build with a light jacket. He takes Brennan and a "colored boy" named Euins to the sheriff's office to take affidavits. Euins has seen the man at the 6th floor window but could not tell if he was black or white (when Brennan claims that he recognized the man as being white, slim, 5'10", 165 pounds, and 30 years old). In Sorrels's testimony, he states that Brennan saw the shooter on the floor below where the colored men were standing. This means Brennan told Sorrels he saw the shooter on the fourth floor (Jarman, Williams and Norman were on the 5th floor). While at the sheriff's office Sorrels meets Arnold Rowland (whom he refers to as Roland Arnold) and hears his testimony regarding the sighting of the gunman at 12:15.

12:55 – The dispatcher repeats the physical description given out at 12:45 and 12:48.

12:55- A nurse at Parkland Hospital calls Dallas County Justice of the Peace Theron Ward in his court in the Dallas suburb of Garland and asks him to come to the hospital because the President has been shot (Crenshaw).

12:55-1:00 – According to McBride, Tippit pulls over an insurance executive named James Andrews on the 300 block of West Tenth street. Tippit looks into Andrews's car and quickly speeds away.

12:58 – Again, Bugliosi places Oswald in the rooming house two minutes earlier than the Warren Commission's official time. Bugliosi's version of the rooming house visit is the quickest and earliest of any other researcher.

In this version, Oswald is in the rooming house "just long enough to get his revolver and jacket," and he is outside by 1:00. Although Bugliosi believes Oswald indeed was waiting for the bus, he believes he did not get on it, since it was going in the opposite direction of the Tippit killing. Why Oswald chose to walk in the opposite direction is not explained by Bugliosi. Clearly, Bugliosi wants to give Oswald enough time to get to the Tippit site by 1:08, when he believes the confrontation occurred. Eight minutes, however, is shorter than even the Warren Commission's time for travel from 1026 N. Beckley to Patton and 10th, which is at least ten minutes.

12:58 – According to his WC testimony, Captain Fritz arrives at the Texas School Book Depository with Boyd and Sims. There are several officers at the front of the building and Fritz is told that the suspect is believed to be in the TSBD. An officer asks Fritz if the building should be sealed and Fritz says yes. He and several other officers begin searching the building floor by floor.

1:00- JFK is pronounced dead by Dr. Kemp Clark at Parkland Hospital (Manchester).

1:00 –John Gibson (according to WC testimony, volume 7) sits down at the Texas Theater. The Warren Commission's estimate for Oswald entering the theater is 1:40. WC assistant counsel Joseph Ball, in a useless line of questioning, asks several questions about where Gibson was sitting in the theater, what time he *usually* went to the theater on Fridays (not what time he went on that particular Friday), and the unbelievable next question: "Did you see the lights come on in that theater?" Gibson answers "Yes." There is no effort on the part of the Commission to figure out when the lights came on, or even how much time transpired in between Gibson's arrival and the entrance of the police (which supposedly was 40 minutes), or *if Gibson noticed Oswald entering the theater, and if so, when he entered*. Gibson testifies that he sat at "the first chair from the rear on the far right-hand side." He does not notice anybody else in the theater. One wonders why he did not notice Oswald, who was sitting 6 or 7 rows down from the rear, considering that Oswald supposedly entered quickly, suspiciously, and without paying, presumably after the film started (according to Johnny Brewer's testimony). The Warren Commission's lack of interest in Oswald's

entrance time at the Texas Theater simply cannot be an accident, seeing as how important it is to the investigation (see the testimonies of Johnny Brewer, Butch Burroughs and Julia Postal below).

After the lights come on in the theater, other audience members start getting up and leaving the theater, asking what is happening. Gibson goes into the lobby and is confronted by two or three police officers. One of the officers, with a shotgun, asks if there is anybody in the balcony. Gibson says he does not know. There are at least six or possibly more policemen downstairs, and "the rest of them" are going upstairs. Gibson goes back into the theater and witnesses as the policemen, six or eight of them, start walking up and down the aisles. Suddenly Oswald is standing up in the center of the aisle holding a gun. Gibson witnesses the confrontation and the arrest, and hears Oswald say, "I protest police brutality" as he is being taken away.

When asked if one group of police headed for Oswald, Gibson says that a boy named Johnny Pardis had followed Oswald into the theater and saw him go upstairs, and that was why the majority of the police were on the balcony, while only 6 or 8 were downstairs. It remains unclear why so many officers were searching the balcony, when no one testifies to seeing Oswald going there.

The above testimony, and all others concerning the capture at the Texas Theater, indicate that the Warren Commission purposely avoided investigating a hugely important fact, namely *when Oswald entered the theater.* There is simply no way that multiple members of the Commission *forgot* to ask multiple witnesses when he entered the theater.

1:00 (CD 677)– At Parkland Hospital, ASAIC Kellerman is informed of the death of the President by Dr. Burkley. Members of the President's staff notify Vice President Johnson of the death of the President in the presence of SS Agents Kellerman, Youngblood, and Kivett.

1:00 – While reporting live on air in Dealey Plaza for radio station KLRD, reporter Joe Scott says that Officer Gerald Hill has just leaned out of the 4th floor window at the TSBD to tell officers below that four bullet shells have been found on the 4th floor and to tell police to call the Dallas Crime Lab. "Four shells" is repeated several times on air, and later Dan Rather says the

shells were found on the 5th floor. The fourth shell will strangely disappear in later reports, and the Warren Commission will have no idea that it ever existed. (The three shells will of course be transferred to the 6th floor.)

1:00- KLRD reports on the radio that a 25-year-old man has been arrested at Elm and Field Streets. He is not a TSBD employee but he claims to have used the bathroom in the TSBD. This is definitely not Oswald, and it is unclear who it is, but later radio reports seem to confuse the two people.

1:00- Oswald is at his rooming house, 1026 N. Beckley Ave (CE 1120).

Oswald tells Captain Fritz and FBI Agents James Hosty, and James Boohkout that he "went home by bus and changed his clothes and went to a movie. Oswald admitted to carrying a pistol with him to this movie stating he did this because he felt like it, giving no other reason" (From FBI Report of 11/23, Appendix XI of the Warren Report).

From Earlene Roberts's Affidavit of December 5, 1963 (WC V. 7): Oswald enters his rooming house without a jacket. He is in the house for a very few minutes, and puts on a dark jacket with a zipper. (She probably mistook his dark overshirt for a jacket.) He leaves the house and waits at the bus stop on the street.

Note: The fact that this testimony is less than two weeks after the event suggests that her recollection that he was waiting for the bus is probably reliable. It is also hard to imagine Oswald making it to the scene of the Tippit murder, 8/10 of a mile away (a brisk 10-12 minute walk according to the FBI), at about 1:14, the latest possible time for the Tippit shooting. Oswald should not have been waiting calmly for a bus – he should have been walking briskly away from the apartment if he was to make his appointment with Tippit.

It should be noted that neither the owner of the building, Gladys Johnson, nor Earlene Roberts (the housekeeper), knew that Oswald owned the .38 Smith and Wesson that he ostensibly used to shoot Tippit and then took to the Texas Theater. Additionally, Roberts did not see him with a gun at any time when he came home at 1:00. According to Johnson's WC testimony, she was present the afternoon of the 22nd when the police entered Oswald's room. She saw them throw a pistol holster down on the bed, which they

“took out of one of the drawers of his chest.”

From “Leftist Accused,” *NY Times* Nov. 22: “A housekeeper at Oswald’s rooming house said the young man entered his room shortly after the shooting of the president, got a coat, and went back out. The housekeeper, Mrs. Earlene Roberts, said: ‘He came in in a hurry in his shirt sleeves and I said, “Oh, you’re in a hurry,” and he didn’t say anything. He went on in his room and got a coat and put it on. He went out to the bus stop and that’s the last I saw of him.’ Mrs. Roberts said Oswald rushed into the rooming house, at 1026 North Beckley Road in suburban Oak Cliff. This was shortly after Mrs. Roberts learned, in a telephone call to a friend, that the president had been shot. She said she had not connected Oswald’s appearance with the shooting. She described Oswald, who had live in the house since the end of October, as quiet.”

From CD 5, in report written by FBI Special Agents Will Griffin and James Kennedy on December 9, 1963: “Mrs. Earlene Roberts, 1026 Beckley, Dallas, Texas, advised she could not furnish the exact time that Oswald returned to his room at 1026 Beckley after the assassination of the President but said a rough guess would be 1 P.M. Mrs. Roberts received a telephone call from a friend telling her the President had just been shot, and Mrs. Roberts turned on the television and recalled the announcer saying that President Kennedy had just been shot and was at Parkland Hospital. Mrs. Roberts advised after Oswald had entered his room at about 1 P.M., on November 22, 1963, she looked out the window and saw Police Car No. 207 with two uniformed policemen in the car which slowed up and stopped in front of the residence at 1026 Beckley, and one of the officers blew the horn on the car and then drove slowly on Beckley toward Zangs Boulevard. Mrs. Roberts said the reason she recalled the number of the car was because she had worked for two policemen who drove squad car 170, and she looked to see if these were the two officers she knew parked in front of the residence.”

In her WC testimony of April 8, 1964, Roberts gives the police car’s number as 106 or 107, but her memory is not clear. Meagher notes that Tippit’s car was number 10, and she strongly suspects that it was Tippit who stopped outside the house. At 1:00 the dispatcher signals to Tippit and

receives no response. Meagher speculates that because of other dispatches at the time, the dispatcher may have been attempting to tell Tippit to go to the blood bank and get blood to bring to Parkland Hospital. She believes he did not respond because he was at 1026 Beckley at the time.

From CE 2645, FBI report of June 15, 1964 concerning whereabouts of police cars subsequent to the assassination: Dallas Police Officer Jimmy Valentine claims to have been assigned to District 104 and driving police car 207 on November 22. He states that he heard of the assassination at 12:45 and went immediately to the TSBD, staying there until 4:00 or 4:30. He states that at no time did anyone else use his car on that day, and that he did not know Earlene Roberts or Oswald, and that he did not ever drive to 1026 N. Beckley on that day. According to the report, no officers drove past the rooming house at 1026 N. Beckley at 1:00.

As we see, some elements of Earlene Roberts's testimony were accepted by the Warren Commission (The 1:00-1:03 time frame, the fact that he was surly and in a hurry) while others were simply ignored (the dark jacket, waiting for the bus, and the police car honking outside the house).

1:00 – 27-year-old Domingo Benavides witnesses someone, who for several reasons cannot possibly be Oswald, kill Officer Tippit. He vaguely gives the time of 1:00 for the Tippit shooting in his WC testimony (V. 6). Benavides is driving west down 10th street between Marsalis and Denver when he sees Tippit driving his car east on 10th. He then sees the officer standing by the door. He sees "Oswald, or the man who shot him," standing on the other side of the car. He hears three gunshots. After the first shot he pulls his car over and stops it at the curb. He is about a car length away from the police car at the time of the shooting- "a car length east of the front side of it." He sees the shooter walk five feet to the curb, throw the two shells onto the ground, and walk south on Patton Street. Benavides waits for a few minutes, then goes up to the policeman. He uses Tippit's radio to tell the dispatcher that a police officer has been shot. Another passerby sits in the police car and speaks to the police. The dispatcher tells the passerby to get off the radio, that he already knows about the shooting, and to keep the line clear. Benavides leaves the crime scene and walks to his mother's house which is close by. When asked by the Commission if the shooter was

reloading his gun, Benavides says he didn't see this, but the shooter was acting like he was going to reload it. Benavides states that he returned to the crime scene after walking to his mother's house. He finds the two bullet shells and picks one up, then drops it on the ground and uses a stick to place them both in a cigarette box. He describes the shooter to the Commission as 5'10", medium weight, "dark…I mean not dark" hair, darker than average skin color, curlier hair than Mr. Belin (his WC interviewer), age around 24-25, wearing a light beige zipper-type jacket, and dark trousers. He does not go to the police station and never identifies Oswald as the shooter. The timing and the physical description rule out Oswald as the killer in Benavides's testimony.

1:00 (estimated)- According to McBride, Tippit enters Top Ten Records at 338 West Jefferson Boulevard and uses the phone. The owners of the record store, who knew Tippit, claimed that Tippit entered in a hurry, spoke to someone briefly on the phone, and then left in a panic, heading west on Jefferson. The record store is seven blocks from the site of Tippit's murder. McBride believes Tippit was desperately looking for Oswald, per instructions. The question remains how he received these instructions, since he could not have received them on the police radio. The record store is just over a mile south of Oswald's rooming house, which is about a 5 minute drive away, and it is conceivable that Tippit went to the record store and then the rooming house at around 1:00.

1:00-1:03 – Oswald changes his clothes. According to the Dallas PD's timeline of Nov. 22, Detective Boyd later finds five live rounds of .38 caliber ammo in Oswald's left front pocket and Detective Sims finds the bus transfer in Oswald's shirt pocket. Oswald brings his .38 Smith and Wesson with him as well, but there is no way of knowing where he is carrying it when he leaves the house. All of this suggests that Oswald wasn't in the hurry that *Life Magazine* claims he was. He was deliberately changing out of his dirty clothes and into clean ones, and he remembered his wallet and his bus transfer. It is also hard to imagine an agitated, nervous Oswald (who has just killed the president) caring that his clothes were dirty – unless he wanted to disguise himself with the new clothes, which could suggest that he wanted to evade authorities. Nevertheless, the possibility that he ignored his landlord (a smoking gun for Manchester and

others); he brought a gun to a movie theater; he appeared to be in a hurry; and he changed his clothes do not mean that he killed the President or J.D. Tippit.

Fritz's "Interrogation," Nov. 22, 10:35 AM: "During this conversation he told me he reached his home by cab and changed both his shirt and trousers before going to the show. He said his cab fair home was 85 cents. When asked what he did with his clothing he took when he got home, he said he put them in the dirty clothes."

Thomas Kelley's "First Interview with Lee Harvey Oswald": "He said he went home, changed his trousers and shirt, put his shirt in a drawer. This was a red shirt, and he put it with his dirty clothes. He described the shirt as having a button down collar and of reddish color. The trousers were grey colored."

1:00 - Roy Truly returns to the first floor after the building has been sealed. A couple of minutes "or moments" after this, Truly sees some of the employees in the corner of the shipping department talking to the police and giving reports. He notices that Oswald is not among these boys, and calls Mr. Aiken at the other warehouses where they keep the applications so he can ask for Oswald's information. Aiken gives Truly Oswald's address in Irving at Ruth Paine's house. Truly does not ask for the names and addresses of any other missing employees. According to his WC testimony that Oswald is the only person that he can be certain is missing. Truly tells Chief Lumpkin that Oswald is missing, and Lumpkin takes Truly up to the 6th floor to tell Captain Fritz. He gives Fritz his name, address, and general description and Fritz thanks him for the information.

1:03- Oswald leaves rooming house (CE 1120). Evidence of this comes only from Earlene Roberts, who was by no means certain of when he came and left. His three minute sojourn at the rooming house must include him putting his clothes in the dirty clothes hamper and remembering (during what would surely be the most exhilarating experience of his life) to bring his wallet and bus transfer. Keep in mind that in interrogation Oswald clearly remembered his whole journey from work to his home and to the theater, including minor details. One would think that he would be too distracted, having just assassinated the President, to remember such things

clearly. Jackie Kennedy famously did not remember climbing onto the back of the limousine.

The FBI determines later that Roberts was able to clearly see Oswald standing at the bus stop from her location in the house (CD 1010).

It also must be asked, *If he owned the .38 Smith and Wesson revolver, why did he bring it when he left the house? Was he expecting a confrontation with the police? Was he expecting a confrontation with somebody else? If he did shoot Kennedy, why would he need the Smith and Wesson, when he would be no match for the large police force who would be searching for him? Was it panic that made him bring his gun? If so, why didn't he appear nervous to the majority of people who observed him that day?* If we assume that he did kill Tippit, we must admit that he was clearly not planning to shoot Tippit and could not have expected to see him that day, unless there is something about Oswald and Tippit that we still do not know. According to Jim Bishop, one in five citizens in Dallas in 1963 carried a gun, and it was quite common for young men to bear arms in public. See 1:40 for Sgt. Hill's clear statement on the police radio: Based on the shell he has just examined at the scene, the gun that killed Tippit was an automatic and could not have been Oswald's gun.

1:03- *Life* has Oswald "running" out of his apartment after ignoring Roberts's "My, you're sure in a hurry."

1:03 – According to Manchester, Superintendent Truly notices Oswald's absence at the TSBD at this time. He tells a policeman, who attempts unsuccessfully to find Captain Fritz to give him this information.

1:04 – McBride states that Oswald "probably left the rooming house at 1:04," and that the walk to the Tippit murder location is no less than 15 minutes, no matter which route is taken (he himself did the walk many times). McBride also claims that WC investigator David Belin recalled doing the walk in almost 18 minutes, although this was shortened to 11-12 minutes for the official Warren Report. McBride also observes that no witnesses saw Oswald running or walking between his rooming house and the Tippit site.

1:05 – Father Huber enters JFK's hospital room and gives the President last rites (Crenshaw).

1:00-1:10 – According to WC testimony, Chief Jesse Curry, who is at Parkland Hospital, learns that Oswald has been arrested around 1:00 or shortly after. This is clearly incorrect – there is no way he could learn either of these facts while at Parkland because he went to Love Field with Lyndon Johnson, before Oswald was arrested. Some of his officers tell him that a suspect in Tippit's killing has just been arrested, and shortly after this they inform him that this is also the suspect in the President's killing. This is part of a general trend in the Dallas PD's actions during these two hours: They began their search for Oswald far earlier than they should have, and Curry's statement betrays his fore-knowledge that Oswald was their suspect.

1:06 – Bugliosi has Deputy Luke Mooney discovering the sniper's nest here, six minutes before Manchester's time. It is indeed strange how early events occur in Bugliosi's timeline compared to other accepted timelines, even those of other "lone nut" theorists like him.

1:06-1:07- Joesten believes Oswald could not have reached his apartment until this time.

1:06-1:07 (WC 3) – According to two separate statements (affidavit of 11-22 and WC testimony), at this time Helen Markham is walking south on Patton toward Jefferson on her way to catch the 1:15 bus to work. She arrives at the intersection of 10th and Patton. She sees a man walking away from her, east on 10th street, on the opposite side of the street. Tippit's patrol car approaches the man very slowly from behind. The car stops and the man comes to the driver's side window, and they appear to have a friendly conversation. In "a few minutes" the suspect leaps backward. Tippit calmly exits his car. The suspect walks toward the front of the car and shoots Tippit three times. Tippit falls to the ground and the suspect walks calmly away, fooling with his gun. The suspect stares straight at Markham, then breaks into a trot, running towards Jefferson, holding his gun. Later she says the suspect "wasn't in no hurry" as he left the scene. After the shooting, Markham physically covers her face with her hands out of fear, and is not actually looking at the shooter for a period of time.

Markham tells the Commission that she is a bad judge of distances and cannot accurately tell how far away the suspect was. Markham is the first suspect to arrive at Tippit's body. She is "screaming and hollering" as she tries to save his life. Tippit attempts to speak to her. She refuses to tell the Commission how many feet away the suspect was, because she has no experience measuring feet. She later identifies Oswald as the suspect because his eyes looked wild and glassy. Markham has little memory of the man who arrived next to the scene, but thinks he was in a truck. She does not know if he was the one who radioed the police.

In her comically exasperating testimony, she describes the police lineup at 4:00 of that day (Oswald was #2 in the lineup). Assistant Counsel Joseph Ball asks Markham six times whether she recognized anyone in the lineup, and each time she states emphatically that she did not – that she had never seen any of those men before. Finally she admits that she identified Oswald after repeated questioning, because when she looked at him, she got a chill, and she felt weak. In addition to her problematic WC testimony, Mark Lane writes in *Rush to Judgment* that he interviewed Markham on the phone before her testimony and she stated that Tippit's killer "was a short man, somewhat on the heavy side, with bushy hair." Lane's WC testimony describes this interview. In her own testimony Markham denies ever talking to Mark Lane and denies that the suspect was short, heavyset, with bushy hair (see below, 1:15-1:20).

On Nov. 23rd, Markham told the FBI that the Tippit shooting occurred around 1:30, and that the killer was a white male, about 18 years old, red complexion, black hair, black shoes, tan jacket, and dark trousers (CD 5). This surely does not sound like Oswald, and it is interesting how the jacket becomes gray, white, or tan depending on the witness. In this testimony she says the killer and Tippit had a friendly conversation for about ten seconds while Tippit was in the car and the killer was leaning against the window. After this, Tippit exited the car and was shot *twice* in the head.

Note – Markham's testimony, as well as Officer Leavelle's report in WC Volume 20, suggest that she was highly traumatized even hours after shooting of Tippit, and that her memory of the events was not clear. As Leavelle puts it, later that afternoon at the police station she was still "in

shock," and it was "after she recovered" that he brought her to identify Oswald in a lineup at 4:35. Her timing is interesting, in that it places the shooting well before 1:15, which became the WC's official time.

From CE 2180- *Washington Post*, Nov. 26 (transcript of a Dallas PD press conference).

Q- Was he on foot when Tippit saw him?

A- Yes, he was on foot. And apparently headed for the Texas Theater. He then walked across a vacant lot. Witnesses saw him eject the shells from a revolver and place – reload – the gun.

1:07- Oswald enters the Texas Theater, according to a statement by Butch Burroughs in 1991. This obviously makes it impossible for him to have killed Tippit. Burroughs gave this statement in an interview in the History Channel series "The Men Who Killed Kennedy," and it strangely contradicts all his earlier statements to the effect that he did not see Oswald enter the theater at all.

1:08 (CD 728) – Police Transcripts

78 (Tippit) – 78.

15 - 15/2.

Dispatcher - 15/2.

Tippit - 78.

261 – 261.

Dispatcher – 261.

261 – Do you have any clothing description yet?

Dispatcher – All we have is a white male, 30, slender build, 5'10", 165 pounds, armed with a 30 caliber rifle.

1:08 - Interestingly, Bugliosi has Tippit encountering Oswald walking *east* (away from Tippit) at this time (7 minutes earlier than the Warren Report), based on Tippit's failed attempt at contacting the dispatcher (above). He claims Tippit is making this attempt as a response to seeing Oswald, who

“vaguely fits the physical description” given out at 12:45, 12:48, and 12:55. Note that the most recent description would have reached Tippit twelve minutes earlier, and it was vague, as Bugliosi admits. Troublingly, this creates a *seven minute* encounter between Oswald and Tippit, if we are to believe the Warren Commission’s official timeline in which Tippit is shot at 1:15. Of course, Bugliosi departs from the 1:15 time, and as you will see below, he has Oswald shoot Tippit at 1:11 and escape at 1:12. Bugliosi describes his interview with Jim Bowles, the Dallas PD sheriff who transcribed the police transcripts for the Warren Commission. Bowles speculates that Tippit had been following Oswald for several minutes, from Beckley or Crawford streets, and imagines Oswald walking “like the devil possessed” or “walking too fast, looking over his shoulder, walking in some erratic, jerky way.” This, according to Bowles and Bugliosi, constitutes probable cause for Tippit to pull over and talk to Oswald.

Keep in mind: In this scenario Tippit saw “Oswald” from behind, and had heard only the vague physical descriptions from 12:45, 12:48 and 12:55. Also, the suspect was not in the area of downtown, where he was still believed to be hiding. The Tippit shooting was 2.7 miles to the south of Dealey Plaza. Tippit, who was clearly familiar with Dallas, could not have reasonably expected this to be the suspect in the shooting of Kennedy, and he must have wondered why he was given such an unproductive duty, so far from the obvious location of interest, when there were no reports of the suspect being in Oak Cliff. Tippit could not have suspected “Oswald” of escaping from the scene of the crime – he was walking east or west, 2.7 miles to the south of the crime scene, and there is no evidence that “Oswald” was openly brandishing firearms, especially the 30 caliber rifle described at 1:08. So the reason for Tippit to stop this man is still a mystery. And needless to say, it remains a mystery why the dispatcher did not respond to Tippit, or what exactly Tippit was trying to say to him.

It must be repeated: There is still no satisfying official explanation of why Tippit was in Oak Cliff at this time, where he was going, or why he interacted with the man who killed him.

1:08-1:09- Oswald leaves his apartment and waits for the bus outside his house, according to Joesten.

1:10 – Radio station WBAP reports that Dallas police have arrested a neatly dressed white man in Dealey Plaza in connection with the shooting. This man is in his early 20's, proclaiming his innocence. WBAP also reports that witnesses saw snipers in 2nd and 4th floor windows of TSBD and that both windows have unobstructed views of the motorcade.

1:10 - Tippit murder witness T.F. Bowley says that Tippit had been killed by this time. In his Dallas County affidavit of December 2, Bowley describes driving west on Jefferson and coming upon the murder site. He sees Tippit lying by the left front wheel of his car. Several people have already gathered. Bowley looks at his watch (the only Tippit witness who claims to have looked at a watch) and sees that it is 1:10. Tippit seems beyond help to Bowley. Bowley finds a man in the car trying to operate the radio (Domingo Benavides, according to all sources). Bowley knows how to operate the radio and uses it to notify the dispatcher that Tippit has been shot. A few minutes later an ambulance arrives and takes the body away.

Obviously this places Tippit's murder at a time that makes it impossible for Oswald to be the killer; the murder itself had already been done and the killer had vanished by 1:10. Interestingly, Bugliosi believes this. But if Oswald left his room at 1:03, and the murder happened several minutes before 1:10, Oswald simply did not shoot Tippit (given the 10 or 15-minute walking time from Oswald's apartment to the Tippit murder site).

In an interview with Joseph McBride, Bowley recalled that he didn't see the killer at any time.

Bugliosi moves Bowley's experience to 1:17, without any explanation.

1:11- Police Transcripts

Inspector J.H. Sawyer (9)– On the 3rd floor of this book company down here, we found empty rifle hulls and it looked like the man had been here for some time. We are checking it out now.

1:11 – According to Bugliosi, William Scoggins observes Tippit stop and talk to "Oswald" at this time. This timing is quite arbitrary, considering the vagueness of Scoggins's WC testimony (see 1:15-1:20 below). He also places Benavides's and Markham's observations at this time.

1:12- Manchester has Deputy Sheriff Luke Mooney finding the three empty cartridges on the *6th* floor at this time.

1:12 – Bugliosi has Oswald leaving the Tippit scene at this time, and running south on Patton, cutting across the yard of Barbara and Virginia Davis. Bugliosi's timing gives Oswald 24 minutes to reach the Texas Theater, only 6/10 of a mile away.

1:12- Police Transcripts

Inspector Sawyer to dispatcher: We have found empty rifle hulls on the 3rd/5th floor and it appears the suspect was there for some time.

1:12 – (WC Testimony) Lieutenant J.C. Day, crime scene investigator with 23 years of experience with the Dallas Police Department, arrives at the TSBD after receiving a call from the dispatcher to go to 411 Elm St. He is greeted at the front door by Lt. Sawyer and is directed to go to the 6th floor. He takes the stairs because none of the officers can figure out how to operate the elevators. He goes to the southeast corner of the building (mistakenly refers to the "northeast corner" twice) where some bullet hulls have been found. When he first arrives at the scene on November 22, there is a pop bottle, a sack, and a paper bag near the three hulls. The paper bag, which contains Bonnie Ray Williams's lunch, is between the pipe and the wall and is later given to the FBI with the rifle. This is the bag that Oswald is alleged to have used to carry the gun to work. The pop bottle does not contain Oswald's fingerprints. One of the other TSBD workers states that someone else had been eating lunch in that location, and Day assumes the objects have nothing to do with Oswald. Day does not find fingerprints on the sack when he gives them to the FBI, but when the sack is returned to him on Nov. 24, there is a fingerprint.

Lt. Day directs one of his officers, R.L. Studebaker, to take photos of the hulls in the locations they were before they were moved. He tells the WC that the photo of Exhibit 482, which was taken off the outside of the 6th floor TSBD less than a minute after the shooting (by a "news photographer"), shows a box that was not there when he arrived, and does not appear in the photos of the inside of the 6th floor in the photos in Exhibits 715-716. Day states, "I still don't quite understand that one in

relation to pictures here unless something was moved after this one was taken before I got there." Day processes the three hulls for fingerprints and does not find any. Captain Fritz tells Day to come to the northwest corner of the building where the rifle has been found.

Lieutenant Day cannot make positive identification of the prints, but tells the Commission that he thinks they belonged to Oswald, because there were palm and fingerprints of Oswald in Captain Fritz's office. It is 11:45 on November 22 when Day releases the rifle to the FBI. *Note: Sebastian Latona, the FBI's fingerprint expert, received the rifle after Day released it and found no print whatsoever. According to Latona, the FBI's Dallas office sent the Dallas PD's original lift to FBI headquarters on November 29. Latona identified this lift as belonging to Oswald (described in depth in Latona's WC testimony). The FBI's Gemberling Report of Nov. 30 does not refer to palm prints on the rifle, and connection of the rifle to Oswald is based on handwriting evidence on the order form.*

Day states that by November 25, when the photo of Exhibit 726 was taken, there had been some movement of the boxes on the 6th floor by the window.

Day finds a palm print on one of the boxes by the window. He tears the cardboard off of the box and has it processed. It is found to be Oswald's right hand palm print.

In Oswald's 201 File (Volume 20) an FBI report of December 27 indicates that the paper and tape used to create the paper bag found in the sniper's nest (the bag which is alleged to have carried the rifle) are not identical with the tape and paper used in the depository. This bag was fashioned using materials from outside the building. Additionally, the tape is not identical with tape found in Ruth Paine's home and the bag is not identical with paper used by Oswald as an envelope.

On Nov. 24, the Postal Inspector interviewed Oswald: "He denied emphatically that he had ever ordered a rifle under his name or any other name, nor permitted anyone else to order a rifle to be received in [his post office box]. Further, he denied that he had ordered any rifle by mail order or bought any mail order for the purpose of buying such a rifle. In fact, he claimed he owned no rifle and had not practiced or shot a rifle other than

possibly a .22, small bore rifle, since his days with the Marine Corp. He stated that 'How can I afford to order a rifle on my salary of $1.25 an hour when I can't hardly feed myself on what I make.'" (The Warren Commission states that the rifle is supposed to have cost $21.45. This included the scope and the shipping and handling. Both the rifle and scope are alleged by the WC to have been purchased from Klein's Sporting Goods of Chicago. This would cost Oswald at least two days' wages, or 17 hours of labor.) From Oswald 201 File, Volume 20, maryferrell.org.

1:13 (CD 677)– Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff enters Lyndon Johnson's hospital room and the two of them decide that news of the President's death will not be released to the press until Johnson is released from the hospital. Mrs. Kennedy and White House staff have already decided to return the President's body to Washington on Air Force One.

1:15 – The box office opens at the Texas Theater; *Cry of Battle* and *War is Hell* are playing. There are 14 customers lined up to buy tickets. Julia Postal begins selling tickets at 90 cents each (Bishop).

1:15- According to the Dallas PD "Report on Events Following the President's Murder" from Nov. 22, Sheriff Mooney finds the empty shells by the southeast window on the 6th floor of the TSBD and notifies Captain Fritz. Detectives Johnson and Montgomery are placed in charge of this area until J.C. Day and Detective Studabaker arrive from the Crime Lab.

Regarding the location of the cartridge cases found at the sniper's nest: In J. Edgar Hoover's letter to Lee Rankin, of March 27 1964 (CD 775), Hoover states that according to FBI tests, when fired at a 45 degree downward angle, the Manlicher-Carcano rifle ejects the bullet cartridges from 55 to 115 inches from the ejection port. After striking the floor, the cartridges can ricochet up to 10 feet in any direction. Contrast this to the proximity of the three cartridges to the open window in the sniper's nest, as seen in the photos from CD 87. According to typical cartridge ejection distances, the cartridges should have been nowhere near the sniper's nest.

1:15-1:20 – "Witnesses stated that Oswald had been walking along west on the south side of 10th street when Officer Tippit, driving east on 10th Street, pulled alongside and spoke to him. Oswald leaned on the open window of

the stopped police car and said something to the officer. The officer then left the cruiser, using the left door, and started walking toward Oswald by walking around the front of the police car. Oswald had backed away from the cruiser and was standing near the sidewalk. As the officer rounded the left front fender of the police car, Oswald fired three shots. Shot once in the head, twice in the chest, Officer Tippit fell to the ground, mortally wounded, and never regained consciousness. Oswald turned, ran, and was observed by witnesses continuing west between Jefferson and 10th streets" (CD 87).

The Warren Report changes the direction of Oswald's walk on 10th street, and in the official version he is walking *east*, away from Tippit. This of course makes it less likely that Tippit identified him as the killer of JFK, based on the vague description given out at 12:55, and does not answer the question of where Oswald was going. If "Oswald" was indeed walking east, he was walking away from his final destination of the Texas Theater, and after shooting Tippit, ran the opposite direction that he'd been going. Presumably, he was in a state of panic and madness.

From FBI report, 11/23, Appendix XI of Warren Report: "Oswald frantically denied shooting police officer Tippit or shooting President John F. Kennedy."

(WC V. 3) Taxi driver William Scoggins, 49, has discharged a passenger at 321 N. Ewing at 1:00. He goes to get his lunch at the Gentlemen's Club at 125 Patton, where he stays for "10, 12, 0r 15 minutes," and hears from another patron that the President has been shot. He goes out to his car to eat his lunch. He is parked at the corner of Patton and 10th facing north. He sees a police car "cruising east there on 10th street," traveling no more than 10 or 12 miles an hour. He is eating a sandwich and drinking a Coke. He sees the police car stop next to a man wearing a light colored jacket. The man appears to be a little east, or standing at the front of the police car. The man is on the sidewalk and has been walking *west* on 10th street, toward Tippit. Scoggins cannot see the man's face. He sees the police officer get out of the car and take a step. Scoggins begins to eat his sandwich, and then hears three or four gunshots, "fast." He sees the police officer grab his stomach and fall.

Scoggins begins to get out of his cab but hides when he sees the man "coming round." The man cuts across a yard and runs into some bushes, then goes south down Patton. Scoggins sees the shooter look left over his shoulder as he flees, "kind of loping, trotting." He holds a pistol in his left hand and says "something like, 'Poor damn cop,' or 'Poor dumb cop.'" Two days later Scoggins will the FBI that he cannot identify this man as Oswald (CD 5). After the killer flees, Scoggins radios his dispatcher and says that a police officer has been shot at 10th and Patton, and asks for an ambulance. He says the ambulance "was already a block and quarter from the scene," so they arrive quickly.

By the time Scoggins goes up to see the victim, the ambulance has already arrived and the body is being put onto a stretcher. The body has fallen "by the side of the front…a little bit forward of the door." He states that the office fell forward, "in a crumpled manner."

Scoggins does not know if the ambulance arrived as a result of his call – "They got there awfully quickly if they did." As Scoggins is standing by Tippit's police car, he sees that Tippit's gun is on the ground, "like kind of under his body when they picked him up." A man picks up the gun and says, "Let's go see if we can find him." (This may be used-car salesman Ted Callaway.) Scoggins thinks this man is a "kind of police, a Secret Service or something." He drives the man all over the neighborhood, looking for the suspect, and does not remember the route they took. Scoggins says, "I still thought he was connected with the police department in some way." They drive around asking people if they have seen the suspect.

According to Attorney Mark Lane's testimony to the Warren Commission, and based on a conversation he had with Helen Markham in late February or early March 1964: "The affidavit in the district attorney's office indicates that a person saw a stopped police car, walked up to the police car, leaned on it with his arms on the window, or what would be a window sill or window ledge of the automobile, and then stepped back a step or two, the officer came out, and the person shot Officer Tippit to death.

"The affidavit is peculiarly sparse in reference to the assailant, the man who killed Tippit, by an eyewitness who said she was just 50 feet away.

“Her description of this person is found in two different portions of the affidavit- he was young, white, male, and that is the entire description present in the affidavit at that time.

“I spoke with the deponent, the eyewitness, Helen Louise Markham, and [she] told me she was a hundred feet away from the police car, not the 50 feet which appears in the affidavit. She gave to me a more detailed description of the man who she said shot Officer Tippit. She said he was short, a little bit on the heavy side, and his hair was somewhat bushy. I think it is fair to state that an accurate description of Oswald would be average height, quite slender, with thin and receding hair” (WC V. 2).

From “Note from J.W. Fritz to Jesse Curry of 23 December 1963”: “The two .38 cartridge cases were found by Barbara Jeanette Davis and Virginia Davis in front of their home, 400 E. Tenth Street, where they had seen Oswald throw them as he was reloading his gun. Four bullets were recovered from Officer Tippit’s body and they were of the same caliber as the gun Oswald was arrested with.”

CE 1987- “The distance from 1026 North Beckley to the location in the 400 block of East 10th street where Police Officer J.D. Tippit was shot and killed on November 22, 1963, 8/10 of a mile, was walked by SA Barrett in 12 minutes.”

Unknown time – Mrs. Barbara Jeanette Davis (WC testimony) is lying in bed at her home at 410 E. 10th Street when she hears two gunshots. She gets out of bed and puts her shoes on. At first, she doesn’t go outside. Then she goes to the door and holds the screen open. She first sees Helen Markham screaming over the body of the policeman in the street, and then sees the suspect walking across her yard. He is holding a gun and looks like he is emptying it into the palm of his left hand. He looks at her and smiles, then walks around the corner at a normal pace. She does not see him throw anything away. She goes inside and calls the police, telling them that a police officer has been shot. Then she goes outside and approaches the dead policeman in the street. She is in the street “not five minutes” when the police arrive, so she goes back to her house. She later finds the bullet shell in the grass beside the house. Later that afternoon her sister-in-law finds another shell in the yard.

Note – Google Maps lists the distance from 1026 N. Beckley to 400 E. 10th Street as 0.8 miles, with the walking time between the two locations as 16 minutes. If Oswald left the rooming house at 1:03, this would put him at the location at 1:19, four minutes after he was supposed to have shot Tippit (at the latest estimate). Three different routes give the same approximate walking time. Considering that the shooting is reported by the citizen using Tippit's radio at 1:16, the confrontation and the shooting (and the suspect's flight) must have occurred around one or two minutes earlier (if we ignore Bowley's seemingly clearheaded testimony). We can place Tippit's actual murder at around 1:14 at the latest, if the police dispatch time is accurate, but before 1:10 if Bowley's testimony is accurate. Oddly, few of the witnesses are asked by the Warren Commission what time the murder occurred, and when they are, witnesses are unable to answer.

The only witness who places the killer as walking east, with his back to Tippit, is Helen Markham. Scoggins has the killer walking west, facing Tippit. In CD 87, the FBI has Oswald walking west, approaching Tippit. If Oswald was on his way from his apartment to the Texas Theater when he killed J.D. Tippit, it is hard to understand why he was walking west on 10th street at Patton. He had gone out of his way in some kind of loop for no apparent reason, and then decided at some point during his walk to head toward the theater. If he had just walked straight down Beckley and turned right on Jefferson he would've arrived at the theater quicker. But instead he went south of his apartment and ended up to the east of Beckley, heading west. Where was Oswald coming from? If he was walking west, in the general direction of the theater, several questions arise. Where had he been? Why did he travel east and south, and then change directions and decide to go west towards the theater? If he was panicking after shooting the president, this might be believable – but the more circuitous his route was, the longer it would take him, and the more unlikely it is that Oswald could arrive in ten minutes or less.

If he was walking east, as Markham says, we must wonder where he was going, and it was clearly away from the Texas Theater. And we must remember that Markham, by all accounts, was hysterical at the time of the shooting and for several hours afterward.

We must also remember that Earlene Roberts saw Oswald waiting for the bus outside the rooming house. We don't know how long he was there, but it just doesn't give him enough time to get to the Tippit site, even by 1:14, the latest possible time for the shooting. With all this, it seems nearly impossible for Oswald to be the killer of Tippit.

From "Leftist Accused, *NY Times* Nov. 22: "The car's driver, Patrolman Tippit, had not made any call that he was going to question anyone. Eight other officers converged on the spot. They found Patrolman Tippit lying on the sidewalk, dead from two .38-caliber bullet wounds. They began a search for nearby buildings for the killer."

At the time of Tippit's murder Acquilla Clemons is working at 327 East 10th, just down the block from the shooting. She hears the shots and runs into the street. She sees a man holding reloading a gun. He is short, chunky and heavy, "wasn't a very big man." She sees another man across the street from the shooter. The man with the gun waves to the other man, who runs off in another direction. The man who did not do the shooting is tall and thin and wears a khaki shirt. Clemons is not interviewed by the Warren Commission. Two days later a man with a gun comes to Clemons's house and says someone might hurt her if she speaks about what she saw, that it would be best if she does not say anything (Interview with Mark Lane, from the film *Rush to Judgment*, 1966).

CE 2593- "Mileage from 1026 North Beckley to 404 East Tenth Street is .9 miles. The following route was used for measurement: South on Beckley from 1025 North Beckley to Davis, east on Davis to Crawford, south on Crawford to Tenth Street, east on Tenth Street to 404 East Tenth."

From "Note from J.W. Fritz to Jesse Curry of 23 December 1963": "Helen Markham, 328 E. Ninth Street, saw Oswald shoot Officer Tippit and positively identified him in a lineup. Officer Tippit was shot at 1:18 P.M. on November 22, 1963 in front of 400 E. Tenth Street. Several other witnesses identified him as the man running from the scene and toward the theater."

1:15 – (WC testimony) Ted Callaway, a car salesman at Harris Bros. Auto Sales at 501 East Jefferson, with six years of experience in the Marine Corps, hears five pistol shots in the direction of the Tippit shooting site. He

runs to the site, one block away, and sees Scoggins hiding by his taxicab. He sees the shooter run across the Davis's yard and south down Patton. Callaway shouts at the shooter, "Hey man, what the hell is going on?" The shooter utters something incomprehensible, shrugs his shoulders, and continues running. The shooter is carrying his gun in "raised pistol position," as they used to say in the Marine Corps (with the muzzle pointed upward, arm bent at the elbow). The shooter is about 56 feet away from Callaway at the closest. The shooter is wearing dark trousers, a light tannish gray windbreaker jacket, fair complexion, dark hair, 5'10", 160 pounds. Callaway runs to the scene, where he finds Tippit lying on his left side with his pistol underneath him. The pistol is out of its holster, which is unsnapped. An ambulance arrives, and Calloway helps load Tippit in the ambulance. He and Scoggins search the neighborhood in Scoggins's taxicab. They go from 10th to Crawford, Crawford to Jefferson, Jefferson to Beckley, and do not see the assailant. Callaway believes that if they had gone straight down Jefferson they would have seen him, since he ended up at the Texas Theater. Later that night, at the police station, around 6:30 or 7:00, Callaway identifies Oswald as the shooter, from a lineup of four men.

1:15 – Bugliosi has Domingo Benavides approaching Tippit, lying on the ground, at this time.

1:15 – Manchester has Tippit encountering Oswald at this time. Oswald shoots Tippit four times, and is identified by nine people.

1:15- Dr. Earl Rose's autopsy report (written at 3:15 that afternoon at Parkland) provides 1:15 as the time of death for J.D. Tippit. Obviously this presents a problem and could be a mistake. If it is not a mistake, it suggests that the police transcriptions have been falsified (which is very unlikely, since the recordings match the transcripts) and Tippit's killing was much earlier, meaning that Oswald could not have killed Tippit, since he would have been at his rooming house or just leaving it at the time of the murder (texashistory.unt.edu).

Strangely, the 1:15 time of death is echoed by the report of Officers Davenport and Bardin, who specifically state that Tippit died at the hospital at 1:15, and that they observed doctors attempting to revive him. Their statement claims that Dr. Richard Liquori pronounced Tippit dead

(Supplementary Offense Report Concerning Shooting of Officer Tippit, texashistory.unt.edu).

1:16- TF Bowley ("Citizen"), using police radio reports a police officer (Tippit) has been shot on 10th street between Marsalis and Beckley

Citizen – Hello, police officer…We've had a shooting down here.

Dispatcher – Where's it at?

Citizen – On 10th street.

Dispatcher – What location on 10th street?

Citizen – Between Marsalis and Beckley. It's a police officer. Somebody shot him…What's this? 404 10th street.

Dispatcher: 78 (Patrolman J.D. Tippit).

Citizen – Hello, police officer, did you get that? 510 East Jefferson.

Regarding the 6 minute delay from Bowley's initial witnessing of Tippit's body (1:10) to his use of the police radio, McBride states that Bowley sat in his car in shock for a few minutes before coming to the aid of Domingo Benavides, who was trying unsuccessfully to operate the radio.

1:16- *Life* names Ted Callaway and Helen Markham as main witnesses to the Tippit killing. Details are similar to their testimonies. Markham sees Oswald with a gray jacket.

Arthur William Smith, 20, is a block east of the Tippit shooting site with his friend Jimmy Burt when he hears gunshots. He looks and sees "Oswald running and policeman falling." He sees the side of the shooter as he runs. Later he sees Oswald on TV and states that Oswald's hair was lighter than it was when he saw him after the shooting (WC 7).

Warren Reynolds, 28, is working at Reynolds Motor Company at 500 East Jefferson when he hears gunshots from the Tippit shooting site, one block away (WC testimony). He goes out onto the porch of his business and sees the shooter walking west down Jefferson with the gun in his hand. He then puts the gun in his pants and continues walking. Reynolds follows the shooter up the street behind the service station and loses him. He assumes

the shooter is in the alley. In his own mind he identifies Oswald as the shooter, based on seeing Oswald's face in the media. He is convinced that it was Oswald, "Unless you have somebody who looks an awful lot like him there." He isn't interviewed by authorities until January 21, 1964. On January 23 he is shot in the head with a .22 caliber rifle in the basement of his auto business. He miraculously survives. He tells the Commission that he believes it was retaliation in some way for chasing Oswald and states that there are rumors that he directed the police to the Texas Theater. He has no solid information to support his claim, but he also says that someone attempted to kidnap his 10-year-old daughter three weeks after he got out of the hospital, on February 20. Later someone unscrewed the lightbulb on his front porch.

Reynolds's statement to the FBI on the 22nd of January (CE 2523) is slightly different from his WC testimony above. In the earlier statement, Reynolds sees the individual running south on Patton and walking "at a fast rate of speed west on Jefferson." The individual turns and walks *north* at the Ballew Texaco Service Station (the WC testimony had the suspect going west through the alley in conformity with the WC narrative). He loses site of the individual and the workers at the station tell Reynolds that the suspect went through the parking lot. When shown a photo of Oswald, Reynolds tells the FBI that "he is of the opinion that Oswald is the person he had followed" that day; "however, he would hesitate to definitively identify Oswald as the individual."

Time Unknown: 85 (Walker)- We have a description on this suspect over here last seen on Jefferson. Last seen about the 300 East Jefferson. He's a white male, about 30, 5'8", black hair, slender, wearing a white jacket, white shirt and dark slacks.

Dispatcher – Armed with what?

85- Unknown.

1:16- According to the Warren Report, Oswald walks south on Patton, emptying his gun cartridges on the ground, and runs west on Jefferson. He then goes into the parking lot behind a gas station, throws his white jacket on the ground, and continues down Jefferson toward the Texas Theater.

1:17 - The Secret Service report (CD 87) lists this as the time of Tippit's murder.

1:17 or 1:20- Officer McDonald, on his way to the Oak Cliff area (Tippit murder location), hears a description of the suspect: "White male, approximately 27 years old, 5 foot 10, weight about 145 pounds, wearing light clothing" (WC V. 3)

1:18- According to Detective J.R. Leavelle's case report for Oswald's arrest, the Tippit shooting happens at this time. As Leavelle states, "The above defendant was walking west in the 400 blk. of east 10th when stopped by above complainant to be questioned. When Tippit got out of his squad car to further question the defendant, the defendant, Oswald, pulled a .38 pistol and shot officer Tippit three times: one time each in the head, chest, and stomach." Leavelle lists Markham, Scoggins, Sam Guinyard, and Rowley, and the Davis sisters as witnesses to Tippit's killing, and identifies Postal and Brewer as witnesses to Oswald entering the theater. Note that Oswald is walking west, toward Tippit, in this version of events. His brief witness descriptions are similar to witnesses' WC testimonies, but he tends to represent the witnesses as much more certain of Oswald's guilt than they appear on closer scrutiny (texashistory.unt.edu).

1:18- Dispatcher – General Broadcast – All squads, we have a report that an officer has been involved in a shooting 400 E. 10th.

Joseph McBride mentions that the officers, in the recordings, sound remarkably calm, even callous about the killing of Tippit.

According to Tippit's autopsy, there are four bullet wounds. The first is just above his right eye, and the other three are in the chest. The bullet that caused the head wound exited the head. The fourth wound in the chest is superficial and "no missile is present in this area." According to the FBI's analysis of three of these bullets (CD 774), C251 and C253 are copper-coated lead bullets of Winchester-Western manufacture, while C252 is of Remington-Peters manufacture. The FBI is unable to determine whether or not these three bullets were fired from the same weapon. The HSCA later rules that it is inconclusive whether the four bullets that killed Tippit (CE 602-605) were fired from Oswald's revolver (CE 143).

1:18 – Officers Poe and Jez arrive at the Tippit murder scene, according to their Supplementary Offense Report (texashistory.unt.edu). Tippit's body has already been taken from the scene. Poe and Fez speak to Helen Markham, incorrectly named as Helen Marsille in their report. Markham states that Tippit's shooter threatened to kill her when she went to help Tippit (this is not mentioned in any of her testimonies). She describes the killer as 25 years old, 5 feet 10 inches, wearing brown jacket and dark pants. Six or seven witnesses tell officers that the suspect is running west in the alley between 10th and Jefferson.

1:18- Citizen informs dispatcher of Tippit's murder (From CD 290 - Texas Radio Log written by Chief Curry).

Manchester suggests that in Oswald's "epic stupidity" and his panic, "it is highly likely that he lost his head when Officer Tippit beckoned to him…" Unfortunately, Oswald's stupidity and panic are not confirmed by other witnesses on that day. No one other than Johnny Burroughs claimed to witness Oswald acting nervously. And while Oswald was probably dyslexic, it is not evident that he was unintelligent. (See Mailer, who believes that Oswald was quite intelligent.)

1:19 – Police Transcripts

Units 85, 602, 19, 531 are en route to "Two different locations, 501 E. Jefferson and 501 E. Tenth."

531 : Suspect is running west on Jefferson from the location - no physical description.

Dispatcher – The suspect's running west on Jefferson from the location.

85 (Patrolman R.W. Walker) – 10-4.

Dispatcher – No physical description.

Citizen – Hello, hello, hello…

602 (Ambulance) – 602.

Citizen - …from out here on 10th street, 500 block. This police officer's just shot, I think he's dead.

Oswald's journey on Jefferson: Joesten notes that Jefferson is a busy thoroughfare full of shops and generally quite crowded in the middle of the day, and that it is hard to imagine Oswald running unnoticed all the way to the Texas Theater.

1:19- According to McBride, the first ambulance, coming from a funeral home two blocks away, arrives at the Tippit site.

1:20 – At the Texas Theater, the main feature (*War is Hell*) starts at this time (George Applin, CD 206).

1:22- Manchester has Oswald cutting through Patton St., running toward West Jefferson Blvd. This is literally at the scene of the Tippit shooting, seven minutes after it has occurred. What has Oswald been doing for 7 minutes, while the police have arrived at the scene? Manchester does not enlighten us. Oswald emerges at a Texaco station on Jefferson and drops his jacket on the ground at this time.

Manchester's timeline has a "fresh description" of Oswald being broadcast by police at 1:22, updated by the descriptions of two women. See below for the problems regarding this.

1:22 – Police Transcripts

Officer Nelson, who had been ordered to go to Oak Cliff with Tippit, but instead went to Dealey Plaza, radios: "I'm in my car at Elm and Houston. Do you want me over there?" The dispatcher replies, "87, report to 4340 West Davis at the service station for information regarding the suspect on this Signal 19 of the President." McBride questions why Nelson, after obeying these orders, went to Oak Cliff afterwards of his own accord, and in general seemed to operate with autonomy, suffering no reprimands for doing so.

R.W. Walker: We have a description on this suspect over here on Jefferson. Last seen about the 300 East Jefferson. He's a white male, about thirty, five feet eight inches, black hair, wearing a white jacket and dark slacks.

Dispatcher: Armed with what?

Walker: Unknown.

As Sylvia Meagher describes in *Accessories After the Fact*, the Warren Commission, who mistakenly believed that Officer C.T. Walker called in this suspect description, interviewed him and not R.W. Walker, who was never called to testify. The Warren Report claims that this description was given by Markham and Barbara Davis to Officer Poe, but Poe and Davis testified to the commission that they were told that the suspect was wearing a black jacket, and Poe and his partner L.E. Jez did not arrive at the scene until 1:22. So it is unclear where R.W. Walker heard the description above.

1:22- According to McBride, the first police unit arrives at the Tippit murder site.

1:22- According to Officer Eugene Boone's WC testimony (V.3) this is the time that he finds the rifle in the "northeasterly" corner of the 6th floor TSBD. A newsman is up there with him taking movie film of the rifle at the moment it is discovered. There are discrepancies for the finding of the rifle – who found it, when it was found, and what make and model it was, are unresolved issues, as we will see. Another oddity, noticed by Sylvia Meagher, is that Oswald's clipboard was found a week after the assassination on the floor near the location of the rifle by employee Frankie Kaiser. It is never explained why the police missed the clipboard.

From CE 3048, KBOX audio reel number 1, November 22, 1963, afternoon: "A rifle found in a staircase on the fifth floor of the building on which the assassin is believed to have shot the President of the United States. Sheriff's deputies identify the weapon as a 7.65 Mauser, a German-made rifle with a telescopic sight. It had one shell in its chamber. Three spent shells were found nearby."

According to an FBI interview on the 23rd, Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman finds the rifle at 1:22 and calls Boone's attention to it. Weitzman describes it as a "7.65 caliber Mauser bolt-action rifle" with a "four-power 18 scope of apparent Japanese manufacture" (CD 5).

1:23 – Police Transcripts

Unknown – What was his direction of travel on Jefferson?

Dispatcher - Traveling west on Jefferson, block. Last seen 401 Jefferson, correction, it will be east.

1:23 – (From WC V. 4) Captain Fritz asks Lt. Day to photograph the rifle before it is moved. The rifle is resting upright in between two rows of boxes, in a space just narrow enough to hold it. Day takes the photo which is Exhibit 719 – the northwest corner of the building where the rifle has been found. (See CE 723, the photo of the sniper's nest in the southeast corner of the TSBD. Note that the gun is found in the opposite corner of the building from sniper's nest). Day picks up the gun and Captain Fritz opens the bolt as Lt. Day holds it. A live round falls out of the gun. Lt. Day process the live round for fingerprints and finds none. Day dusts the bolt for fingerprints and finds none. Day takes the rifle to his office where he dictates to his secretary the information that was "stamped on the scopic sight on top of the gun": "4 x 18, coated, Ordinance Optics, Inc., Hollywood, California, 010 Japan. OSC inside a cloverleaf design." He also dictates to his secretary the following regarding the gun: "When bolt opened one live round was in the barrel. No prints are on the live round. Three spent hulls were found under the window. They were picked up by Detective Sims and witnessed by Lieutenant Day and Studebaker. The clip is stamped, 'SM1, 9 x 2.'" Day sees faint palm prints "near the firing end of the barrel about three inches under the woodstock when I took the woodstock loose." He is about to attempt to process the palm prints using photography when he receives instructions from the chief's office to go no further with the processing, because the FBI is going to complete the investigation. This further confuses the question of *where* the print that implicated Oswald came from.

WBAP reports live on air that J.C. Day presented reporters with a "British 303" rifle from the scene on the 6th floor.

At some point after this, Captain Fritz is told by Roy Truly that Oswald is missing from the TSBD. Fritz never specifies when this happens, but in his WC testimony he states that he left the TSBD immediately after this, telling Sims and Boyd to take him to City Hall so that he can find out more information on Oswald. Crucially, Fritz decides to go to City Hall for the sole purpose of investigating Oswald *before Oswald has been arrested*.

Fritz does this even though other employees are also missing, including known narcotics offender Charles Givens; when he arrives at City Hall he apparently learns that Oswald has *already been arrested*. This sequence of events is repeated in Bishop as well. This suggests that the Dallas PD became focused on Oswald earlier than it should have, and conforms to Tippit's actions between 12:30 and the time of his death.

1:24 – Dispatcher describes a white male wanted for murder of police officer, 30 yrs old, 5'8", slender, black hair, white jacket, white shirt, dark trousers, "last seen running west on Jefferson."

1:24 – Police Transcripts (CD 728)

103 to 109 – Any description of him?

103 – Have description of white male, about 30, 5'8", black hair, white jacket. Any units spotting a white station wagon, with license prefix PE, proceed with caution and advise. In area of West Jefferson.

1:25- According to CD 5 (FBI Gemberling Report of November 29), Tippit is pronounced dead at Methodist Hospital at this time. Tippit's shooting is not broadcast to all units by the dispatcher until 1:18, and McBride claims the first ambulance didn't arrive until 1:22. While it is not impossible, it is cutting it close to place Tippit at Methodist Hospital, 1.2 miles away, at 1:25. This means that in seven minutes the ambulance has arrived, the ambulance has taken him to the hospital, doctors have examined him, and he has been pronounced dead on arrival. Below we will see that just one minute later, 1:26, the dispatcher broadcasts news of his death. We know that T.F. Bowley didn't alert the police about Tippit's murder until 1:16. What we are discovering is a timeline that may not be outside of the realm of possibility, but is becoming absurdly compressed; the Keystone Cops come to mind. (One wonders why the body was moved so quickly when it was clear to even the bystander who called the police that Tippit was already dead (as McBride notes, T.F. Bowley was proficient in artificial respiration and knew Tippit was dead as early as 1:10). One would think that for the purposes of the investigation his body would be kept in the place where it fell. If the ambulance were to arrive immediately after the call at 1:16, and the body moved without any hesitation, it may be possible

for Tippit to be pronounced dead at 1:25. The autopsy report may have reported his death at 1:15 because that was the time the doctors thought he had been shot on the street.

1:25 – FBI Special Agent Robert Barrett, while at the TSBD, hears a police radio broadcast stating that an officer has been killed. He proceeds to the scene of the crime and overhears the police interviewing two witnesses who claim that they saw a young man of about 27 years of age talking to a police officer through the open window of his car, while leaning on the car. The officer opened the car door and walked around to the back of the car, whereupon the suspect pulled a gun from his shirt, and shot him twice. Barrett learns that this killing had been first reported to the dispatcher at 1:19. Barrett notes that Tippit's blood is at the front of the car, indicating he did not walk to the back of the car (report of 11-22).

1:25 – According to one report, Sheriff Weitzman finds the rifle on the 6th floor of the TSBD, 115 feet where the shells are, 5 feet from the west wall and 8 feet from the west stairway (Dallas PD, "Report on Events Following the President's Murder," Nov. 22, texashistory.unt.edu).

1:25 – This is the oddly late, and certainly incorrect, time given for the Tippit shooting by William Scoggins in his interview with FBI Special Agent Louis Kelley on November 23, 1963. Kelley writes: "He had picked up a fair at Love Field on Friday, November 22, 1963, which he discharged at 321 North Ewing at 1 P.M. He then drove to the Gentleman's Club, 125 South Patton, to get a cold drink to go with his lunch. He could not find a parking place in front of the club, so he parked on the east side of Patton at 10th street and stated he parked where a stop sign had been but had been removed. He parked heading north on the right side of the street.

"He walked back to the club, obtained his cold drink, and watched the President on TV for a minute. He then returned to his cab and got his lunch out of the pocket. He estimated this to be about 1:25 P.M.

"About the time he got his lunch out, he saw a policeman in a squad car going east on 10th street at a slow rate of speed. This officer stopped on 10th street just east of Patton. The officer got out of his car and apparently said

something to a man walking west on 10th Street and who was on the south side of 10th. When the officer spoke to him, the man stopped.

“The next thing that attracted Scoggins’ attention was a gun firing and he heard three or four shots, saw smoke near the squad car and saw the officer fall beside the car on the driver’s side. The man the officer stopped started running. He ran west on 10th to Patton and south on Patton to Jefferson. The last time he saw this man was when he was going down Jefferson. He reported this to the dispatcher as soon as the man passed his cab and was asked if an ambulance was needed. He advised the dispatcher he did need an ambulance and shortly thereafter the ambulance arrived as did other officers.

“He stated he did not know the man who shot the officer but would know him if he saw him. He stated this man muttered as he passed his cab ‘Poor dumb cop’ or ‘Poor damn cop.’ He was not certain which, and stated that when this man passed his cab, he had a pistol in his left hand.”

Note again, Scoggins’s insistence that Tippit’s shooter was walking west, towards Tippit. The Warren Report officially has the shooter walking away from Tippit.

1:25 – Justice of the Peace Ward Theron arrives at Parkland Hospital and releases the President’s body to Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman, ignoring the advice of Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade and Chief Curry to take possession of the bullet that may have killed the President. The body (and all forensic evidence associated with the murder) is now in the possession of the Secret Service (Crenshaw).

1:26- Police Transcripts

279 (unknown officer) – We believe that we’ve got that suspect on shooting that officer out here. We got his jacket. Believe he dumped it behind a service station at 400 block West Jefferson and he had a white jacket on.

Deputy Chief of Police N.T. Fisher – Is there any indication that it has any connection with this other shooting?

Dispatcher- Well, the descriptions on the suspects are similar and it is possible.

Sergeant Gerald L. Hill - I'm at 12 and Beckley right now – have a man in the car with me that can identify the suspect if anybody gets him, the one.

19 (Sgt. C.B. Owens)- One of the men at the service station that saw him seems to think he is in this block of 400 East Jefferson, behind this service station. Will you get me some more squads out here?

79 (Patrolman Anglin)- "En route."

1:26- The dispatcher states that Tippit has been pronounced DOA at Methodist Hospital.

Dispatcher – 87 (Nelson).

Nelson – A white station wagon believed to be PE3435, unknown make and [ ] late model, occupied by two white males left this fellow's station going east on Davis and believed to have a shotgun or rifle laying in back seat.

Between 1:26 and 1:28 the suspect is seen behind the gas station on East Jefferson, when Oswald is most likely in the theater.

According to William Weston's analysis of the period in between the finding of the jacket behind the service station at 1:25 and the finding of the suspect in the library at 1:35, there was a deliberate reluctance of the police to search the actual parking lot where the jacket was found. The police searched several vacant buildings and a church rather than the lot itself, and then rushed to the library, which in Weston's belief shows explicit orders from on high to let the suspect hiding behind the gas station to escape ("The Arrogant Suspect" from *The Fourth Decade* volume 2 – maryferrell.org).

1:26- Police Transcripts

Sgt. C.B. Owens- One of the men here at the service station that saw him seems to think he is in this block, 400 block East Jefferson behind his service station, give me some more squads over here.

Questions arise from the above dispatch: Why didn't Sgt. Owens search the parking lot? Who was back there? Why did everyone go to the church instead of the parking lot? As Owens told the Warren Commission, "We were informed by a man whom I do not know, that the suspect that shot Officer Tiipit had run across a vacant lot toward Jefferson, and thrown

down his jacket. I think he said, white, I'm not sure. Not finding anybody that had seen him come out of that area, we blocked off that entire block… It was this block bound by Jefferson, 10th, Patton, and Denver."

The reason no one saw Oswald leaving the block mentioned above is probably that Oswald wouldn't have come through this area walking from his rooming house to the theater; Beckley Avenue is four blocks west of this.

1:26 – According to the FBI's calculations Oswald would enter the Texas Theater at this time. CD 87- "Shooting of Officer Tippit, then walked to Texas Theater at 231 W. Jefferson .6 mile. TIME 10 minutes." Oswald's entry time has to be pushed back to 1:40 for this reason: Tippit's killer was still at large, hiding in the parking lot at this time.

CE 2593- "Mileage from 404 East Tenth Street to the Texas Theater, 231 West Jefferson, is .7 miles. The following route was used for measurement: West on 10th Street to Patton, south on Patton to Jefferson, west on Jefferson to the Texas Theatre, 231 West Jefferson. The above measurements were made by using the odometer in a 1964 Plymouth, Secret Service car number 466."

1:26-1:30 (estimated) – Truly tells officers that Oswald is missing from the TSBD. This happens after the rifle is found by Weitzman, according to the Dallas PD Nov. 22 report (texashistory.unt.edu).

Around 1:26, Parkland surgeon Charles Crenshaw talks to medical student Evalea Glanges, who tells him that she had seen a bullet hole in the windshield of the President's limousine during the surgery and that the limousine was being cleaned by Secret Service agents while it was at the hospital (Crenshaw). Associated Press photographer Henry Burroughs, who rode in the motorcade and came to Parkland after the shooting, noticed that "An agent with a stainless steel hospital bucket was cleaning up the rear seat of the President's limousine. Flowers were strewn over the rear seats of both limos" (Palamara, *JFK: From Parkland to Bethesda*).

1:28 – Jack Ruby is seen at Parkland Hospital by an acquaintance of his named Seth Kantor (HSCA V. 9).

1:28- Police Transcripts

Dispatcher- Stand by. Notify 1 that officer involved in this shooting, Officer, J.D. Tippit, we believe, was pronounced DOA at Methodist at 1:28 p.m.

4 (Deputy Chief of Police N.T. Fisher – Is there any indication that it has any connections with this other shooting?

Dispatcher- Well, the descriptions on the suspect are similar and it is possible.

1:30 – Bugliosi places Truly's "roll call" of TSBD employees at this time. Truly tells Deputy Chief Lumpkin that Oswald is missing, and the two of them tell Captain Fritz. Fritz receives Oswald's description, "23 years old, five foot nine, about a hundred and fifty pounds."

1:30 – According to George Applin, the lights in the theater go on at this time. Two police officers walk down the two aisles of the theater. Applin gets up from his seat and walks to the back of the theater. He sees officers "shake down" two men sitting near the front of the theater, and then he sees the Oswald scuffle. Oswald pulls out a gun and points it at the officer's head. Oswald pulls the trigger but the gun does not go off. (From Applin's December 16 testimony.)

Time Unknown -(WC V. 7) According to Warren Commission testimony, Johnny Brewer, 22, manager of Hardy's Downtown Shoe Store at 213 West Jefferson, has heard the news of Kennedy's assassination on the radio. He hears police cars going up Jefferson and sees a man go into the lobby of the shoe store. "He was a little man, about 5'9", and weighed about 150 pounds is all…And had brown hair. He had a brown sports shirt on. His shirt tail was out…Light complexioned." The man walks toward the Texas Theater. Brewer goes onto the street and watches him enter the theater. "He just looked funny to me. Well, in the first place, I had seen him some place before. I think he had been in my store before. And when you wait on somebody, you recognize them, and he just seemed funny. His hair was sort of messed up and he looked like he'd been running, and he looked scared,

and he looked funny." The man walks into the theater. Brewer asks Mrs. Julia Postal if she had sold a ticket to the man with the brown shirt and she says no, she hasn't. She'd been listening to the radio as well. Brewer walks inside and asks Butch Burroughs, who works concessions, if he's seen a man with a brown shirt, and Burroughs says that he hasn't. Brewer asks to check all the exits, because the man looked suspicious.

Brewer and Burroughs check the exits and search the theater but do not find the man with the brown shirt. There are about 15 or 20 people in the theater. They go back out front to tell Julia Postal that they cannot find him, and she calls the police. Butch goes to the front exit and Brewer goes to the stage to guard the back exit. They wait for the police to arrive. The police turn on the house lights and Brewer sees the man, six or seven rows from the back, in the middle of the aisle. Brewer tells the police that there is a man in the theater he is suspicious of, and he points him out. An officer approaches Oswald. There is a scuffle and Oswald hits Officer MacDonald. Oswald says, "I am not resisting arrest," twice, as the police handcuff him and take him out of the theater. Brewer does not remember what time the officers entered the theater.

According to her Warren Commission testimony, Julia Postal sees Oswald "duck into" the theater, but does nothing. She clearly does not believe him to be suspicious. When confronted by Brewer, she tells him Oswald did not pay for a ticket. Butch Burroughs, who did not see Oswald enter, testifies that Oswald probably went first to the balcony, very quickly.

Neither Julia Postal, Butch Burroughs, nor Johnny Brewer tell the Warren Commission what time Oswald entered the theater. Julia Postal testifies that 24 people bought tickets to the movie between 12:45 (when the box office opened) and 1:15.

1:30 – According to Johnny Brewer's Dallas County affidavit of December 6 (texashistory.unt.edu), Oswald is standing in front of the shoe store at this time. Oswald proceeds to walk toward the theater. Oswald seems nervous, and so Brewer thinks that this may be the man who shot the policeman. Exactly how he knew that a policeman had been shot is unknown. Oswald enters the theater and Brewer follows him. Julia Postal does not remember if Oswald has bought a ticket and Butch Burroughs has not seen Oswald at

all. Brewer and Burroughs search the theater and does not find Oswald. As Brewer revealed in a 1996 interview (see note below), when Oswald appears there are two other customers in the store, both of them "IBM men" who were not customers but just lounging around. These are men that Brewer apparently has known since he started working at the store in August of 1962. As Bishop claims though, "At the moment, there wasn't a customer in the store." It is strange that Brewer never mentioned the IBM men in his WC testimony.

Note: It is essential to assess what Brewer knew, when he saw Oswald, and what his motives were. The radio ostensibly reported Tippit's death in the fourteen minutes following his murder at 1:16, but as yet no radio broadcasts proving this have been located; all commercial radio broadcasts available seem to be reporting Kennedy's death, updates on Connally's health, and live broadcasts from Dealey Plaza at this time. The police don't even receive a description of Tippit's killer until 1:23, and there is no evidence that the news of Tippit's murder is broadcast on any radio station before 2:00. Between 1:20 and 1:30, Brewer would have heard on the radio that the suspect was possibly still in the TSBD or its immediate vicinity, and he also would have heard that several suspects had been arrested already.

So Brewer's motivation for following Oswald remains unclear. As Manchester says, it would not be until forty minutes after Tippit's shooting at 1:15 "that anyone suspected the significance of the officer's death" – hence, not until Oswald's arrest would the world suspect that the two murders were linked. In a 1996 interview with Ian Griggs in The Dealey Plaza Echo (Vol. 1 Issue 3) Brewer stated that he knew he heard about Kennedy's arrest on the radio, but forgets which station – it may have been KLIF. He recalls hearing something about a shooting in the Oak Cliff area, but remembers few details. He heard a brief description of a shooter, and noticed police sirens and saw police cars driving past the shop. There was no connection between the Oak Cliff shooting and the President's shooting. He noticed Oswald walk down Jefferson, from Zangs, the direction of Tippit's shooting. As Bishop says, "It seemed like a lot of trouble for one ninety-cent gate crasher, but Brewer was going to follow his lead all the way." Brewer chose to leave the store open and apparently unlocked with two men inside it. As we see, even lone nut theorists have trouble explaining

Brewer's reaction to Oswald entering the theater. In the Ian Griggs interview Brewer reveals that Oswald had been in his shoe store a month earlier, and that he had bought a size eight and a half, crepe-soled shoe, model 8110.

1:30 – If Captain Fritz's problematic WC testimony is to be believed, Fritz, Sims and Boyd probably arrive at City Hall at this time. However, this cannot possibly be true because Fritz claims that Oswald was there when he arrived. In any case, Fritz is at City Hall to see if the missing TSBD employee, Oswald, has a police record. While he is at City Hall he hears that an officer has been killed. He asks who shot the officer, and someone tells him that it is Oswald, and that he is also the suspect in the murder of the President. The questions arise: Why didn't Fritz hear about Tippit's killing on the police radio while driving to City Hall? Why did Fritz go to City Hall to look for Oswald's police record? Oswald simply was not the only employee who was missing from the building at that time (see 1:46 re. narcotics offender Charles Givens). The problem seems to be that the police were looking for Oswald too early, before they should have suspected him. Fritz's account of his actions collapses the timeline, and we find him leaving the TSBD shortly after 1:22, and hearing that Oswald has been arrested very shortly afterwards, when he shouldn't have learned about his arrest until 1:51, or his identity until around 2:00.

1:30 – Julia Postal, in her affidavit of December 4, places Oswald's entry at 1:30 or a little later. She describes listening to KLIF and hearing that the President has been shot – she does not mention hearing about Tippit's murder. She sees Oswald duck inside the theater as the police drive by. Strangely, she does not react to Oswald's failure to buy a ticket. Brewer appears and asks if that man had bought a ticket, and Postal strangely replies "What man?" Brewer specifies, *the man who just entered the theater*. Postal then recalls that the man did not buy a ticket. Brewer asks if he can go search the theater, which he does. Brewer searches the theater with Burroughs and returns, telling Postal that the man is nowhere to be found. Postal urges the two to check the theater again, just to be sure. They do so.

When they return, Postal tells Brewer and Burroughs to guard the exits and make sure no one leaves. She says she is going to call the police, which she does. She tells the female operator that she wants to talk to a police officer. When she is connected to an officer, she tells him that there's a man in the theater who is hiding from the police, but the man can't be found. When asked what makes her think he is still in the theater, Postal replies that it might be women's intuition, but she just knows he's in there. The officer asks Postal if the man fits the description of the suspect of the President's murder, and Postal replies that she hasn't heard the description of the President's killer. Postal then describes Oswald (whom she only saw very briefly, out of the corner of her eye, as she was watching the police cars drive by). The officer says he will send somebody out to the theater. Postal then ends the phone call and calls the projectionist to ask if he sees the suspect in the theater. The projectionist says no, and asks if he should stop the movie. Postal tells him not to, and hangs up. The police show up about one or two minutes later, and they emerge about ten minutes after that with Oswald. (It is notable that women's intuition sent 16 officers racing to the Texas Theater, and convinced half of them that the suspect was in the balcony.)

Note: Postal's testimony lines up roughly with Brewer's timing, below, for a 1:25-1:30 entrance for Oswald. It may be possible for the theater search and her call to the police to take place before 1:45. But she claims the police were in the theater for about ten minutes before they emerged with Oswald. If the dispatcher's report went out right before 1:46 (according to the transcript), police wouldn't enter at the building until at least one minute later. Bugliosi has the police arriving at 1:48, which seems reasonable when we look at the transcript. But this reduces the arrival of 16 officers, the theater search, the scuffle, the arrest, the arrival of the press and 200 onlookers, and the placement of Oswald in the car at 1:51, to three minutes. This affidavit also does not tell us why the dispatcher thought the suspect was in the balcony.

A 1:30 entrance time for Oswald at the Texas Theater is possible if he walked straight from the rooming house on Beckley. It is also possible if he killed Tippit at 1:10 or even 1:15. But Tippit's killer was seen hiding behind the gas station at 400 East Jefferson at 1:26. Since this is half a mile away, it

defies belief that Oswald appeared four minutes later in front of the shoe store.

1:30- Alan Dulles, after speaking at a Brookings Institution luncheon in Williamsburg, Virginia, learns of the assassination. He takes a car back to Washington with a CIA attorney named John Warner. He will spend the rest of the weekend not at his home but at a CIA facility called Camp Peary, which is known as “the Farm” in the agency. This is a location where Dulles still directs operations though he was officially removed from his position by Kennedy (Talbot).

1:31-(CD 728 Police Transcripts)

87 – A white station wagon believed to be PE 3435, unknown make and model, late model, occupied by 2 W/M left this fellow’s station going east on Davis and believed to have a shotgun or rifle in the backseat.

111- They say he is running West in the alley between Jefferson and 10th.

Dispatcher – West in the alley between Jefferson and 10th.

Note: According to Julia Postal and Johnny Brewer, Oswald entered the theater at this time, when witnesses on the scene told officers that the Tippit shooter was still running west in the alley after dropping his white jacket and hiding behind the service station on Jefferson.

44 – That was where on 10th street? What address?

Unknown – 44, that was 501 E. 10th street. Running west from that location, a white male, 30, 5’8”, black hair, white jacket, black trousers, white shirt. Had either rifle or shotgun in back seat, license on car, prefix PE – no other information.

41 – Was suspect on foot or in car?

Unknown – On foot at that time.

Note: 501 East 10th Street, where the Tippit suspect is seen around 1:30, is 8/10 of a mile away from the Texas Theater, where Oswald apparently appears at the same time.

1:32 – Police Transcripts

44- Report from City radio just now that jacket has been found at scene. Probably won't have a jacket on.

1:33- Kennedy's death is announced by White House Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff at Parkland (Manchester).

1:33 – The President's body is brought in a bronze casket to Trauma Room 1. Charles Crenshaw, the only doctor in the room at the time, is the last doctor at Parkland to look at Kennedy's head wounds before the body is taken away. By the time the President's body arrives at Bethesda Naval Hospital six hours later, doctors will find that the back of the head has been reconstructed during the flight, and the throat entry wound has been enlarged to appear like an exit wound. Crenshaw calls the changes "the work of a butcher."

1:33 – According to McBride, news of Kennedy's death and the murder of a policeman in Oak Cliff are both broadcast for the first time on a local Dallas radio station.

Police Transcripts

1:33 - 111 (Pollard) – They say he is running west in the alley between Jefferson and 10th.

Unknown- Clothing the description on that suspect.

Dispatcher – White male, 30, 5'8", very slender build, black hair, a white jacket, white shirt and black slacks, 1:33.

223- (Patrolman C.T. Walker) – He is in the library, Jefferson East 500 block, Marsalis and Jefferson.

221 (Summers)- Might can give you some additional information. I got eye-ball witness to the getaway man; that suspect in this shooting. He is a white male, 27, 5'11", 165, black wavy hair, fair complected, wearing light gray Eisenhower-type jacket, dark trousers and a white shirt and but last seen running on the north side of the street from Patton on Jefferson; on East Jefferson, and was apparently armed with a .32, dark finish, automatic pistol which he had in his right hand." (Sylvia Meagher notes that this wavy-haired suspect could not have been Oswald, and it is indeed strange

that the Warren Commission never attempted to find out who the “eye-ball witness” was.)

Dispatcher- For your information, 221, they have the suspect cornered in the library Marsalis and Jefferson.

Summers – 104. This man can positively identify him if they need him.

Dispatcher – Well, they have the man under arrest now.

Owens- It was the wrong man. (As Owens tells the Warren Commission, the suspect hiding in the library is a library employee who ran back to work after his lunch break to tell his coworkers that the President was shot.)

Summers – I’m in front of 404 West – East 10th right now. I got two witnesses – the one that talked to the officer and one that observed the man.

550 (Patrolman Westbrook) – We got a witness that saw him go up North Jefferson and he shed his jacket – let’s check that vicinity, towards Tyler.

Note: Tyler Street runs north and south and intersects Jefferson 7/10 of a mile west of the Texas Theater. The officer seems to imply that the suspect was seen traveling north of Jefferson and west of the theater. Oswald was supposedly entering the theater at this time.

1:33 –(CD 728)

23 – Zangs and Clarendon.

… Unknown – What was the description on that suspect.

Dispatcher – W/M/30/ 5-8”, very slender build, black hair, a white jacket, white shirt and dark slacks, 1:33.

19 – 19.

Dispatcher – 19.

19 - Do you know what kind of a call he was on?

Dispatcher – What kind of what?

19 - Was he on a call or anything?

Dispatcher – No.

19- 10-4.

Dispatcher – Do you have any information for us, 19?

19 – No, we are shaking down these old houses in the 400 block East Jefferson right now.

95 – 95.

Dispatcher – Go ahead.

95 – Send me a squad over here 10th and Crawford to check out this church basement.

Dispatcher – Any squad 10th and Crawford.

63- 63 is en route.

1:34

35- In area on 10th street.

Dallas 1?

44 – Zangs and Davis.

Dallas 1.

Dallas 1.

For the attention of all officers, this is an anonymous tip only. A green ’57 Ford, bearing Texas license DT4857 with white male as occupant. If located, acknowledge. Advise this department.

Note: Interestingly, no witnesses in the area around Patton and Jefferson in the minutes following Tippit’s shooting have connected the Tippit shooter with someone who entered the Texas Theater. No one saw Oswald *running down West Jefferson. At 1:34, the police are still searching the area immediately surrounding Tippit’s murder, assuming the shooter is hiding there, even though the shooter was seen running west on Jefferson, or in the alley between 10th and Jefferson. It is notable that the police did not go west on Jefferson in their search. Zang and Davis is several blocks northwest of the area. Johnny Brewer, who says he saw Oswald enter at around 1:30, of course did not see Oswald leaving the scene of the Tippit shooting. Notice*

below, the police are intensively searching the library at Marsalis and Jefferson, two blocks east *of the Tippit shooting, from 1:35- 1:38, while Oswald has apparently been in the theater for several minutes. Ostensibly the police did not follow the killer west because they had blocked off the area and no one had seen him leaving.*

1:30-1:35 – Scoggins and his passenger (Callaway, who is carrying Tippit's gun) pass a police car. The passenger stops the car and talks with the officers. He takes the passenger back to the scene of the crime, and the passenger gives the gun to the police. This is when Scoggins realizes his passenger is not a police officer. The police continue questioning people at the scene, but not Scoggins.

Scoggins describes Tippit's shooter as a "medium height fellow with, kind of a slender look, and approximately, I said, 25, 26 years old." His description goes on: medium brown or dark hair, white skin, light complected, not real brown, slender but not real slender, not wearing glasses. The next day, the 23rd, Scoggins is picked up by the police down at the cab stand shortly after lunch and taken to the police station. That morning he has seen a picture of Oswald in the morning newspaper shown to him by one of the other cab drivers. *(By this time Oswald's picture, the news of his arrest, and the insinuation of his guilt were widely spread throughout the media. It would've been hard not to identify him as the killer. See CE 2142-2146 for the TV reel transcripts from the 22nd and 23rd in which Chief Curry repeatedly discusses the evidence against Oswald, calling him the "prime suspect.")* Scoggins, unsurprisingly, tells the WC that he believed Oswald was the same man he saw running away from the Tippit shooting. Scoggins is shown a lineup of four people, including Oswald. He identifies Oswald as the suspect, another man who looks similar to the suspect, and two others who are shorter. Oswald is wearing different clothes than the man Scoggins has seen: "He had on a different shirt, and he didn't have a jacket on. He had on kind of a polo shirt."

After the lineup a man who Scoggins thinks is either FBI or Secret Service shows Scoggins his credentials and asks Scoggins to identify the shooter from a stack of 4 or 5 photos. Scoggins narrows the photos down to two that resemble the suspect. "I told him one of these two pictures is him, out

of this group he showed me, and the one that was actually him looked like an older man to me. Of course, I am not too much on identifying pictures. It wasn't a full shot of him, you know, and then he told me the other one was Oswald."

1:35 – Manchester has Oswald running past the Bethel Temple, but does not say where it is. This is 20 minutes after the Tippit shooting. The Texas Theater is 6/10 of a mile from the Tippit site, yet Oswald is still running there. Did he stop somewhere? Did he take a circuitous route? We do not know.

1:35 (estimated) – KRLD reports that a 24 or 25-year-old suspect has been arrested and a 5-story building surrounded in downtown Dallas. The report came from Dan Rather 15 minutes ago and nothing more has been heard since then.

1:35 – Lyndon Johnson and his party board Air Force One; as Manchester says, at this time "it was logical to suppose that the great crime had been committed by a great criminal, backed, perhaps, by a great criminal nation." Chief Curry has accompanied them with two police cars, and he will be there for the swearing in onboard Air Force One.

1:36 – According to Bugliosi, Johnny Brewer first witnesses Oswald step into the lobby of Hardy's Shoe Store on Jefferson. Brewer's suspicions arise from the fact that Oswald seems to be avoiding the police driving west on Jefferson (when most police were in fact searching the library .7 miles away at this time), and Oswald has a disheveled appearance. Bugliosi believes Brewer had heard on the radio that a cop had been shot "less than three quarters of a mile away" by this time. This is doubtful (see note below, at 1:45). Bugliosi provides the nine-minute window of 1:36 to 1:45 for Brewer to go to the theater, talk to Julia Postal, search the theater with Butch Burroughs, and tell Postal to call the police.

1:37 (CD 728)

Unknown -Any units Marsallis and Jefferson. Go to library. 1:37 PM.

Note: Remember that Oswald was supposedly trying to avoid the police when he entered the theater anywhere from 1:25 to 1:40, when police were

searching the church and the library, over a half a mile east, during these ten minutes. There is no indication from transcripts that police were traveling west on Jefferson at the Texas Theater this time. They certainly were not searching the area around the theater, and no police stopped Oswald as he walked down Jefferson toward the theater, though he ostensibly resembled the Tippit suspect. The Oswald who shot Tippit, muttered "Poor dumb cop," threatened to kill Helen Markham and sauntered away from the site, who according to Markham "Wasn't in no hurry or anything," is hard to reconcile with the nervous wreck who hid from police in Johnny Brewer's lobby before racing into the theater – especially when police were not searching the area.

1:40 (CD 677) – Kennedy's casket arrives at Parkland Hospital. This casket has been ordered by SA Hill at the request of Kenneth O'Donnell. The casket is taken into the emergency room, and Kennedy's body is placed into the casket.

1:40- In his WC testimony, Captain Fritz gives this inaccurate time for Oswald's arrest. This conforms to the reports of many other officers, but cannot be correct. According to Fritz, when he arrived at City Hall Oswald was already there even though he seems to have left the TSBD immediately after the rifle was found at 1:22 and should have arrived five minutes later. Between Fritz's arrival and 2:25, when Fritz interviewed Oswald, Fritz sends three officers to Irving to investigate Ruth Paine's house (Stovall, Rose, and Adamcik).

1:40 (CD 677) – President and Mrs. Johnson arrive at Love Field and board Air Force One. The President and Mrs. Johnson are joined in the stateroom by Congressmen Thornberry, Brooks, and Thomas. ASAIC Youngblood remains with the President. The President summons Federal Judge Sarah Hughes to the plane. Johnson asks to be informed of the location of Mrs. Kennedy and the body of the President, and to be informed when they arrive at the plane. Chief Curry has traveled from Parkland to Love Field and is present on Air Force One for the inauguration.

1:40 – Police Transcripts

Sgt. Gerald Hill - A witness reports that he was last seen in the Abundant Life Temple about the 400 block. We are fixing to go in and shake it down.

Dispatcher – Is that the one that was involved in the shooting of the officer?

Hill – Yes.

Dispatcher – They already have him.

At 1:40 Sgt. Gerald Hill announces on the radio that "The shell at the scene indicates that the suspect is armed with an automatic .38 rather than a pistol." This indicates that Hill has examined the shell and revealed that it couldn't be Oswald's revolver that killed Tippit – the .38 shell came from an automatic.

1:40 – A Dallas Police Department document lists this as the time for Oswald's arrest ("List of Arresting Officers and Times of Arrest, texashistory.unt.edu). Officers present at the Texas Theater during the arrest: Baggett, Barrett, Bentley, Buhk, Carroll, Cunningham, Hawkins, Hill, Hutson, Lyons, McDonald, Stringer, Taylor, Toney, Walker, and Westbrook.

M.N. McDonald also provides 1:40 as the time of Oswald's arrest in his "Arrest Report of Investigative Prisoner" (texashistory.unt.edu). He writes: "This man shot and killed President John F. Kennedy and Police Officer J.D. Tippit. He also shot and wounded Governor John Connally." There seems to be an effort to provide a much earlier time for Oswald's arrest on the part of the entire Dallas PD.

1:40 – Detective Bentley, at City Hall, receives information about the Tippit shooting and goes to 10th and Patton with Captain Doughty and Sgt. Barnes. They arrive at the Tippit site. They are there for five minutes when they hear that the suspect is in the Texas Theater. Bentley goes to the theater with Captain Talbert. When he arrives, Bentley is told by Det. Toney that the suspect is in the balcony. Bentley goes to the balcony and tells the projectionist to turn on the houselights. Bentley searches the balcony and does not find Oswald, then goes to the first floor and witnesses the scuffle. Bentley's timing places the scuffle and arrest quite close to 2:00 (Bentley's letter to Chief Curry, texashistory.unt.edu).

1:40 – CE 1120 provides this time for Oswald's arrival at the Texas Theater.

CE 1987- "The distance from the location in the 400 block of East 10th street to the Texas Theater, 231 West Jefferson, a distance of 6/10 of a mile, was walked at a brisk pace by SA Barret in 10 minutes." As mentioned above, Oswald should have run into the theater at 1:26, if he was heading straight down Jefferson as we are told he was. Why didn't the Warren Commission move the entry time to 1:25-1:30? Because at that time witnesses had seen the suspect hiding in the parking lot behind the gas station or running down an alleyway between 10th and Jefferson. Since Oswald had to be the Tippit killer, he could not enter the theater until 1:40.

One possibility is that Oswald entered the movie theater at an improbably early time, far too early for him to have killed Tippit, and the police, knowing somehow that he was going to be there, and that he was to be the suspect in both killings, had to invent a reason to go arrest him there. That raises the problem of Brewer, Burroughs and Postal – what part did they really play in the arrest of Oswald? Only Brewer claimed to have seen Oswald clearly, and he alone was the instigator of the entire arrest of Oswald at the theater. Perhaps he was the only witness who agreed to work with the police in the arrest. Brewer would have to have known ahead of time that Oswald was going into the theater, so that he could go direct Postal and Burroughs to help him search the theater and call the police. This is not impossible – it would only take one person to go and inform Brewer ahead of time what his role was to be. He did take an unusually active role, compared to Postal and Burroughs, who should've been more certain than they were of Oswald's suspicious behavior, being employees in the theater.

1:40- Manchester also has Oswald entering the theater at this time, 25 minutes after the Tippit shooting. Why it took Oswald 25 minutes to run 6/10 of a mile is not addressed by Manchester.

According to the Warren Report, Brewer sees Oswald enter the theater, tells Julia Postal that he did not buy a ticket (a fact that she should've known, since she was the cashier) and tells Postal to call the police. This all occurs shortly after 1:40.

The following transmission appears to occur at 1:40 (CD 728):

All units at Marsallis and Jefferson disregard. This is wrong suspect. 1:40 PM.

All units standby unless you have emergency traffic. 1:40 PM.

For attention of all units: THE PRESIDENT IS DEAD.

35 -Out at Texas Theater on West Jefferson.

44 – Did you advise you were clear? What you got at the Texas Theater?

35 – They got a suspect hiding in the balcony at the Texas Theater on West Jefferson. I'll be out.

44 – I'll be en route.

1:43 – Dispatcher – 87 (Nelson), was that a Pontiac or a Falcon?

Nelson- He didn't say what kind of car it would be. He said it was a white car with a luggage rack on top. He wasn't sure of the model, talked like it was a big car, though.

Sgt. H.H. Stringer – The jacket that suspect was wearing over here on Jefferson bears a label tag with the letter B 9738. See if there is any way you can check the laundry tag.

Note: According to CD 868, Hoover's letter to J. Lee Rankin, the FBI found that the jacket's "laundry mark and/or cleaning tag was not identified as originating from any cleaning or laundry establishment in the Greater Dallas, Texas, area." Hoover's letter identifies the laundry mark as 30 030, however – not B9738.

1:44: Nelson – What was the last location anybody had on the location of the suspect in Oak Cliff?

Dispatcher -Running north on Patton. *(Note- This is in the opposite direction of the theater and it must be the dispatcher's mistake, since all witnesses, and police on the scene, said Tippit's shooter ran south on Patton and West on Jefferson. Of course, one possibility is that the real killer was seen running north on Patton while Oswald was sitting in the theater.)*

1:44- Bugliosi has Johnny Brewer and Butch Brewer emerging from the theater at this time, to tell Julia Postal that they have not seen the suspect

but he is probably still inside.

1:45 – At Parkland Hospital, employee Darrell Tomlinson finds a bullet on a stretcher and gives it to security director O.P. Wright, who gives it to Secret Service Agent Richard Johnson. This will later become the “magic bullet” alleged by the Warren Commission to cause so many wounds to Kennedy and Connally.

1:45- Police Transcripts

Dispatcher- We have information that suspect just went in the Texas Theater on West Jefferson.

Patrolman Arglin - 10-4.

Dispatcher - He’s supposed to be hiding in the balcony.

Arglin – 10-4.

85 – Ptm. Walker – 85 out that way.

(Note: Neither Julia Postal, Johnny Brewer nor Butch Burroughs saw Oswald go into the balcony. This furthers the suspicion that the police had information that is not present in the transcripts and did not come from any known witnesses.)

J. Edgar Hoover, from his conversation with Lyndon Johnson on 11/29: “Then he walked about another two blocks and went to the theater and the woman at the theater window, selling the tickets…she was so suspicious… the way he was acting…she said he was carrying a gun…he had a revolver at that time…with which he had killed the police officer…he went into the theater and she notified the police and the police and our man down there went in there and located this particular man. They had quite a struggle with him…he fought like a regular lion…and he had to be subdued, of course, and was then brought out and, of course, taken to police headquarters…but, he apparently had come down the five flights of steps - stairway- from the fifth floor…so far as we’ve found out the elevator was not used…although he could have used it…but nobody remembers whether it was or whether it wasn’t.”

It should be clear how inaccurate Hoover's characterization is. This is all part of much larger campaign which originated at the FBI, to posthumously portray Oswald as crazed and dangerous, when there is little evidence to support this.

Unsurprisingly, *Life* does not give a time for the Texas Theater entrance. According to Johnny Brewer, Oswald is breathing heavily and his shirt is untucked when he stops in front of the shoe store. Oswald *dashes* a half block to the theater. According to *Life*, neither the cashier nor the usher see him enter. There is no word on when the movie has started.

CD 87 – "Total elapsed time from assassination of President Kennedy to entering of Texas Theater 49:25 minutes." (Note- This would put Oswald in the theater at around 1:19).

Note: Google Maps lists the distance from 400 E. 10th Street, the location of the Tippit murder, to 231 West Jefferson, the location of the Texas Theater, as 0.6 miles, with a walking time of 13 minutes. If Oswald left the Tippit shooting at 1:16, this would put Oswald in the theater, assuming he went straight there without stopping (walking on Jefferson the whole way), at 1:29. Brewer gave 1:30 as the time for Oswald's entry in only one case, his Dallas County affidavit of December 6 (see 1:30 entry above). The official time will be changed to 1:40. Apparently during his run to the theater, Oswald stopped and refilled his .38 Smith and Wesson, which had bullets in all six chambers when he was arrested. (According to J.D. Tippit's autopsy, he was shot four times - texashistory.unt.edu). Questions arise: If this was Oswald, was he planning on going to the theater? If not, where was he heading and why did he go into the theater? Was he running the whole way, or was he walking? Why didn't he buy a ticket, since it would clearly arouse suspicion to enter without paying? Why did he reload his gun?

As we see below, by 1:45 the dispatcher reports that the suspect has entered the Texas Theater, and by 1:51 the suspect is in a police car, en route to City Hall. This gives Brewer, Burroughs and Postal, and the dispatcher at the most, 14 minutes for the following: to see Oswald enter; decide he is the killer of Tippit (when only Brewer, who recognized Oswald as a former customer in his shoe store, claims to have seen Oswald clearly); for

Burroughs (who never saw Oswald enter) to search the theater with Brewer for ten to fifteen minutes without seeing Oswald; for Julia Postal (who saw Oswald for only an instant, and couldn't remember whether he'd bought a ticket or not) to call the police, convincing the dispatcher that the Tippit murder suspect is in the theater, when the police only had a vague description of Tippit's killer and Brewer himself probably hadn't heard a description of him; and then for the dispatcher to announce this information. According to the police dispatches, by 1:47 *five squads* were covering the back exit of the theater.

The official Warren Commission timeline has Oswald entering at 1:40, ten minutes later than Brewer's testimony. This ten minute discrepancy is not only factually problematic, but a 1:40 arrival gives an impossibly short period of time, just five minutes, for the above scenario to happen. Why would the Commission push back the entry time?

Many radio broadcasts from November 22 incorrectly state that a Secret Service Agent was killed in the attack, and some broadcasters later assume this to be a mistaken description of Tippit. If anything, Brewer would have heard that Kennedy, Connally, and a Secret Service Agent were shot in an assassination attempt downtown, and that the suspect was still in the Texas School Book Depository or the immediate vicinity of Dealey Plaza. Some networks broadcast the *5'10", 165 pounds, 30 years old* description, but it is not common to hear on the broadcasts. According to the Dallas Police "Report on Events Following the President's Murder," it wasn't until after 1:25 that Roy Truly even told police that Oswald was missing from the building (texashistory.unt.edu). So Brewer would have little reason to believe the President's killer was at large and roaming in his neighborhood. And he could not have heard on the radio in the 12-14 minutes following Tippit's murder that a policeman in Oak Cliff had been killed by a white, black haired, 5'8," 150 pound man fleeing west on Jefferson, who also resembled the President's killer.

So: What did Brewer really think and do, and when? And how did the police decide that the man described by Julia Postal was Tippit's killer, and most importantly, *when did Oswald enter the theater?*

As we will see, there is little clarity in the many testimonies and reports regarding the timeline. The Warren Commission, as evidenced below, is almost pathologically reluctant to ask witnesses what time any event occurred. This is regardless of who is being interviewed or who is asking the questions.

What is obvious is this: There is an effort to obscure the timing of Oswald's entry into the theater. The most logical reason for this is that the police knew that Tippit's killer was still running west down the alley at 1:30-1:35. Since not a single witness was ever asked by the Commission when he entered, it can be assumed that the Commission knew that these witnesses would be providing wildly inconsistent or problematic entry times, possibly in conflict with Tippit's killer's whereabouts at that time. There is no other explanation of the reluctance to establish when Oswald entered the theater.

1:40-1:45 (WC 3)– Officer McDonald, after hearing that the suspect has gone into the Texas Theater, drives there to see that several police cars are already at the scene. He enters through the rear, where two or three officers are already guarding the exit. He encounters a man inside wearing a suit, who tells him that the suspect is not in the balcony but is sitting downstairs in the orchestra seats, in the back of the theater, alone. The man with the suit (Johnny Brewer) points out the suspect to McDonald. McDonald walks up the aisle to two men who are sitting together and asks them to stand up. He searches them for weapons. He looks back at the man who has been pointed out to him (Oswald). Oswald is still sitting in his seat, not moving. Notably, Oswald never tries to flee when the police enter the building. McDonald states that he did not approach Oswald immediately because he did not want to overlook anybody or anything. McDonald walks toward Oswald at a normal gait, not looking directly at him but keeping his eye on him. McDonald walks slowly past Oswald, then turns suddenly and tells him to get on his feet. A struggle ensues, with Oswald knocking McDonald's hat off and attempting to shoot him with the .38 Smith and Wesson. After a struggle of unknown duration, involving several officers, Oswald is handcuffed. McDonald gives Oswald's gun to Detective Bob Carroll.

According to Joesten, the FBI reported that the firing pin on Oswald's gun was so damaged as to be unusable. Joesten questions how and why Oswald had done this on his flight to the theater. Joesten also questions the placement of Oswald's gun - how did he take it out of his pocket and point it at McDonald's head (according to a press conference with Wade) while engaged in a scuffle with McDonald?

From "Leftist Accused," *NY Times* Nov. 22: "Then another call came to police headquarters from Julia Postal, cashier of the Texas Theater at 231 West Jefferson Boulevard, six blocks from the scene of the policeman's slaying. She said an usher had told her that a man who had just entered the theater was acting peculiarly. The investigating officers were dispatched to the theater. They began checking patrons, starting at the front of the house."

1:45 – Police enter the Texas Theater, according to George Applin's Nov. 22 affidavit (texashistory.unt.edu). His description of the scuffle and arrest is similar to official police accounts.

1:45 PM (CE 343)– According to the *Dallas Morning News* of November 28, 1963, Oswald enters the theater at 1:45. This reflects a strange trend among in some reports to push back the entry and subsequent arrest to a fifteen minute time frame starting at 1:45. This of course raises the question of what Oswald was doing for 30 minutes after he killed Tippit. "About 1:45 p.m., Julia Postal, cashier at the Texas Theater at 231 West Jefferson, saw a hurrying stranger push past her into the theater. To this day, she can't remember if he paid or not…Five minutes or more had elapsed before Johnny Brewer, manager of a shoe store a few doors away, ran in. Mrs. Postal said he thought he had seen 'someone running from the police' duck into the theater. The cashier immediately called the police – who had just sped en masse to a false alarm at the Dallas Library…the police sirens wailed again…Police went in the Texas Theater to the machine gun clatter of a movie called 'War is Hell.' They found their man – hiding in a middle-section seat."

From CD 87, report by Special Agent Roger Warner (December 6, 1963): "Brewer observed Oswald walking west on Jefferson in the 200 block of Jefferson in a suspicious manner. He followed Oswald until Oswald entered the Texas Theater…

“Miss Postal stated that she was in the cashier’s booth at the Texas Theater, listening to broadcasts relative to the assassination of President Kennedy… Miss Postal stated that she heard police sirens and stepped out of the cashier’s booth to the sidewalk. At this time, she stated, she observed Oswald out of the corner of her eye standing near the entrance to the theater. Miss Postal stated she watched the street for a few seconds and then returned to the cashier’s booth. She feels that she did see Oswald enter the theater but she cannot be sure of this fact. When she returned to the booth, Johnny Brewer asked if she sold Oswald a ticket. Miss Postal stated that she had not. Miss Postal observed Brewer walk into the theater. Brewer stated that he was going to look for Oswald. Brewer returned later and told Postal that he had not been able to locate the man and asked her to call the police, which she did. Brewer then returned into the theater and with Usher Warren Burrs stood at the exit doors. Miss Postal stated that even though she had just a quick glance at Oswald, she was quite sure he was not carrying a gun at the time he entered the theater. Miss Postal stated that she had not observed the actual arrest inside the theater and could only report that when Oswald was brought out of the theater by police officers, a crowd had gathered and were yelling, ‘Kill him. Kill him.’…

“At a few minutes to 2:00 P.M., on November 22, 1963, police officers received a call to proceed to the Texas Theater as the suspect in the murder of Officer Tippit was reported as being in that theater. Officers converged on the theater where they were met by Mr. Warren Burrs and Mr. Brewer. The officers were informed that the suspect was in the balcony and several officers searched the balcony with negative results. The lights of the theater were turned on just after the officers arrived at the theater.” Officer McDonald approaches Oswald and a struggle ensues. McDonald is joined by several other officers. Oswald pulls out a .36 caliber pistol and in the struggle the pistol action snaps as the hammer falls. However, a shell is not discharged. At the station, Patrolman McDonald examines the pistol and finds in the chamber 6 full rounds with one round dented, which indicates it had misfired.

“The exact time of arrest has not been ascertained at this time, however, all officers agree that it was approximately 2:00 P.M.” This report also does not mention the time that Oswald entered the theater.

Unknown Time – (WC V.7) According to his Warren Commission testimony, Dallas Police Sergeant Gerald Hill enters the Texas Theater with two or three other officers and they go up into the balcony. At this time the movie is still playing. He yells to a theater employee to turn on the theater lights. There are six people on the balcony. The officers check them out, and none of them fit the profile of Tippit's shooter. He goes out onto the fire escape and sees Officer C.E. Talbert on the ground. They converse, and Talbert agrees to start up the fire escape to search on the roof. He searches the balcony again, and heads downstairs when he hears a shout from the first floor to the effect of "I've got him." He runs down the right aisle toward a group of officers who are struggling with a white male. Someone tells Hill "Look out, he's got a gun." After a struggle of unknown duration, Hill says that "We finally got the man subdued…" Hill asks Hawkins for some handcuffs, which are produced, and Oswald is handcuffed. An FBI agent named Bob Barnett, whom Hill was not familiar with at the time, enters the theater from the rear exits. Captain Westbrook instructs the officers to get the suspect out of the theater as soon as they can. As the officers take Oswald into the lobby they are greeted by a large crowd of people, including a man "shooting movies" from channel 8 news. A large crowd has gathered outside, with people shouting "'That is him. We ought to kill him. String him up. Hang him,' etc. and so on." Hill estimates the crowd to number about 200.

The police have parted the crowd to make way for the officers to bring Oswald out. Hill takes Oswald to the police car. Hill is in the front middle, with K.E. Lyons in the right front. In the back are, from left to right, Bentley, Oswald, and Walker. Bob Carroll gets in the driver's seat, with Hill in the middle of the front, and hands a pistol to Hill, telling him that this was the gun taken from the suspect in the theater. It is a .38 Smith and Wesson, with a 2" barrel that contains six shells. There are six live rounds in the chambers of the gun, and one of the rounds has an indention caused by the hammer. The car begins its trip to City Hall. Within seconds of the car starting, Hill radios to the dispatcher that they have the suspect and are heading to the station. By this time it is 1:51.

An alternative timeline suggests itself. This is of course entirely speculative, but seems to make more sense than the official timeline: 1:25 – Brewer, who

has been told to watch out for Oswald, finally notices him walk down the street and enter the theater. For whatever reason, Postal and Burroughs later claim to have little or no awareness of Oswald's presence at the theater. Oswald has walked straight to the theater from his rooming house on Beckley. (Google Maps gives a 21 minute walking time from the rooming house to the Texas Theater, assuming he walked south on Beckley and turned right on Jefferson. If Oswald left the rooming house on foot at 1:04, 1:25 is a suitable time for his arrival at the theater.) By this time the search for Tippit's killer has just begun, and Oswald is not picked up as a suspect as he walks down Jefferson to enter the theater. 1:26 – Brewer enters the theater and speaks to Julia Postal, attempting to rile her up, because he knows he has to call the police to come pick up this man and he will need other witnesses. She has not noticed anyone strange enter the theater, but agrees to let Brewer search it. Brewer speaks to Butch Burroughs, operating the concessions counter, who also did not see anyone strange enter. This does not mean that Burroughs or Postal did not see Oswald enter – it just means no one suspicious, matching Brewer's description, entered. 1:27 – Brewer and Burroughs begin searching the theater. Brewer, who has seen Oswald at his store before, and has been told by the police to keep an eye out for him, is ostensibly searching for him, but in reality is making sure Oswald is in fact there before he tells Julia Postal to call the police. The police, who need a reason to go to the theater in the first place, must rely on a citizen who has seen Oswald behaving strangely, and Brewer is the only person who claims to have seen Oswald in this condition. Oswald, who may or may not notice that two men are searching the theater, does not flee at this time. He is clearly not at the theater to hide and has no reason to be afraid. Someone in hiding would be much more aware that the theater is being searched, and would probably leave the theater at that time. 1:40-1:43 – Brewer goes to Julia Postal in the cashier's office and tells her that the suspect is probably still in the theater and she should call the police. Postal, who barely remembered seeing Oswald, gives a vague description of him to the police, and probably does not tell them that he is in the balcony since no one has seen him go up there. Brewer goes to the back of the theater to make sure Oswald does not escape before police get there; he has been told to keep his eye on the suspect.

The fact that Oswald never tries to escape shows that he is not expecting to be arrested, and his behavior afterward indicates that he is completely shocked that the police have arrested him. Lone nut theorists like to use this as further proof of his insanity. 1:45- Dispatcher Murray Jackson (who has heard from someone other than Julia Postal that Oswald will be in the balcony) radios that a suspect has gone into the Texas Theater and is hiding in the balcony. In the next six minutes, the police enter the theater, a scuffle ensues, the press arrives to take photos of Oswald's arrest, a crowd of 200 assembles, and Oswald is placed in the police car. This suggests that the police knew before 1:45 that Oswald was in the theater, and were there even before 1:45. By 1:51 Oswald is on his way to City Hall.

1:46- Police Transcripts

Inspector Sawyer: 9. We have a man we would like to have you pass this up on to the CID to see if we can pick this man up. Charles Douglas Givens, G-I-V-E-N-S. He's a colored male, thirty-seven, six foot three, a hundred sixty-five pounds. He has an ID number in Sheriff's Department, 27954. He's a porter that worked on this floor up here. He has a police record and he left.

As we see, as late as 1:46 Givens was a person of interest, and yet there seems to be an intense concern with Oswald which begins before

1:45-1:50 - According to CD 87 (Secret Service Report) p. 669, "Approximately 10 or 15 minutes after Brewer arrived at the theater and while he was standing at the exit near the screen, the lights were turned on and at this time Brewer saw Oswald sitting in the center section 5 or 6 rows down from the rear. He saw Oswald stand up when the lights went on, walk to the right aisle, and then return to the seat he had left. At about this time, Brewer heard people about his exit and he opened the door. Police entered and grabbed Brewer who then explained to the police that Oswald was still in the theater. Brewer and one of the officers went to the stage where Brewer pointed to Oswald and at about this time officers entered from the rear and Officer McDonald went in toward Oswald."

After a struggle, Oswald is taken out through the front of the theater and Brewer hears him say "I'm not resisting arrest."

From CE 2160- NBC TV Interview with Sgt. Gerald Hill, November 22, 1963:

Q- Sir, did he make any statement? Did he say anything other than “this is it?”

Hill- He did not admit to us when he was in custody any of the accusations either of shooting the officer or of any other crime that could have been committed. He started demanding that he be allowed to see a lawyer and he started talking about his rights – wouldn’t even admit that he had pulled the trigger on the gun in the theater. Actually we didn’t receive any information as to the contents of the crime from him for the entire trip to the station.

Q- What about the matching descriptions, Jerry?

Hill- Approximately two inches in height was the only discrepancy in the description of the man who killed Officer Tippit and the man who shot the President.

Q- What was the description of that man?

Hill – He was described as five six to five eight, slight build, brown hair, having on a jacket and white shirt and dark trousers. Actually the subject was about five ten and had discarded the jacket which we found in the Oak Cliff area near a funeral home in the 400 block of East Jefferson, and at the time we arrested the subject his pistol was again fully loaded and we had a witness that said he saw the subject stop long enough to reload his pistol after shooting the officer.

Q- What did you find in the building?

Q- Near where the President was shot from?

Hill – In the building on the sixth floor we found an area that, near a window, had been partially blocked off by boxes of books, and also the three spent shells that had apparently been fired from a rifle. Also we found the remnants of what could have been a meal eaten by the suspect of a chicken dinner *(Note: once again, this places Bonnie Ray Williams in the sniper’s nest at 12:20, when Oswald should have been there waiting for the motorcade)*. At that time I left the building and later, I understand, in the same general vicinity under some boxes the rifle that was used was found.

Q- The rifle that we saw in the office?

Q- What did the man say when you arrested him?

Hill- The man did not make any definite statement other than demanding to see a lawyer and demanding his rights, and when we arrested him he did not volunteer any information at all. The only way we found out his name at all was to remove his billfold and check it ourselves; he wouldn't even tell us what his name was.

Q- What does he – do you believe he is the same man who killed the police officer?

Hill- Having been in it from the very beginning, as far as the officer's death is concerned, I am convinced that he is the man that killed the officer. Now the tie-in on the rest of it will have to be established by someone else. As to whether the two situations are related, other circumstances that are taking place in another part of the investigation other than what I have been connected with will have to be proved to tie the two together…

Q- Has the suspect admitted to shooting the President?

Hill- Not to my knowledge, he hasn't.

Q- What was the name on the billfold?

Hill- Lee Oswald. O-S-W-A-L-D.

Q - At no point did he say anything like "I've got me a President"?

Hill- Not when he was in my custody. I never heard him make a statement of that type.

Q- Did you hear that statement from anybody?

Hill- I have heard it as a rumor that was said, but I can't verify it because it was not said in my presence.

Q- Are you convinced, sir, that there are three men involved?

Hill- No sir, I am convinced that the man we have is the man that shot the officer. As to the circumstances that happened prior to the shooting, we can only surmise that the officer stopped a car, on possibly a traffic violation or

on information from a citizen, but we can't verify that, and also the only two people who can tell us why the officer stopped him is the officer and the man who shot him…

Q- Where did you get your information on the presidential assassin?

Hill- Sir, it was broadcast on the air. As to what officer actually first received the information as to who the assassin was, I couldn't tell you.

Q- Wasn't there a description called in by some unknown person?

Hill- Suspect now?

Q- As far as the suspect is concerned?

Hill- The suspect will be interrogated some more. At the same time all the loose ends will be tied together to the best of our ability and the crime lab and other agencies involved that can supply us with additional information on the suspect will all be in operation until we try to tie this thing up in a neat package.

Q- Jerry, are there any fingerprints on the rifle?

Hill- But, as to the exact time, I don't know. Bill, I don't know for sure. I couldn't say one way or another.

Q- Any idea at all?

Q- Where were the spent bullets in the room?

Hill- I did not pick them up.

Q- Does the crime lab…idea?

Hill- I have no idea.

1:46 – Police Transcripts

550 – Do you have any additional information on this Oak Cliff suspect?

492 (CID) – 492, out Texas Theater.

Dispatcher – They think he is at Texas Theater, 550/2.

1:47- Barnes – Notify our office to send us four slides and need additional metallic kit. Extra metallic kit. Bring to the 6th floor down here at Houston

and Elm.

Dispatcher – Have some squad cover off the rear of theater fire escape.

Hawkins – There's about five squads back here with me now.

1:48

Dispatcher - ...en route to Texas Theater. Have someone cover off the rear of the theater at the fire escape.

1:48 – Bugliosi has the police arriving at the theater at this time. Brewer is confronted by police, who mistake him for the suspect.

1:48- Police Transcripts

Sgt. C.B. Owens: Captain Talbert and some squads are going to the Texas Theater. I remain here at the scene.

1:50- Dallas Police Detective John Toney claims that at this time he, Lt. Cunningham, and Detective Buhk are cruising Oak Cliff and hear from the dispatcher that the suspect of a police shooting is in the Texas Theater in the balcony. They head to the theater ("Report of John Toney to Chief Curry," Dec. 3, texashistory.unt.edu).

1:50 (estimated) – Dallas radio station KRLD reports that no arrests have been made, but police dragnets have been put out in downtown Dallas and the Oak Cliff neighborhood.

1:51 – Police Transcripts

Chief Curry – What are the circumstances of J.D. Tippit?

Dispatcher – We do not have it all clear yet, 1. He was involved in a shooting and was dead on arrival at Methodist and I am sorry that is all I have right now.

Curry – Did they get the suspects?

Dispatcher – We believe we have him in the Texas Theater now.

1:51- Police Transcripts

Dispatcher - Suspect in shooting of police office is apprehended and en route to the station…Caught him on lower floor of the theater after a fight.

(CE 2146) WFAA TV Reel, “Interview with Police Chief Jesse Curry,” Nov. 23:

Q- Can you describe briefly what happened inside the theater?

Curry- Well, they were searching the theater and as they approached this man, he jumped up and said, “This is it,” and drew a gun – attempted to draw a gun. They grappled with him and were able to twist the gun away from him and he was resisting violently. Several officers subdued him. I had two, two officers that had to have treatment for injuries wrestling around over the seats in the theater and another officer was scratched up but didn’t have to have treatment.”

1:55 – According to Detective Toney’s report, at this time he and Lt. Cunningham are searching the balcony of the Texas Theater. They question a suspect who is not Oswald; the manager on duty says that this subject has been in the theater since 12:05 (long before the theater was open for business). The scuffle with Oswald occurs on the first floor of the theater at this time. It is interesting that so much anecdotal evidence places Oswald’s capture at the theater closer to 2:00, yet the police transcripts have him arrested and on his way to City Hall as early as 1:51, placing the scuffle in the theater at least several minutes before that.

1:55 – Talbert – Your location?

Hill- Zangs and Colorado.

Talbert – You do have the suspect arrested in the Texas Theater?

Hill- Yes sir, him and the gun.

Hawkins – Captain Westbrook wants a photographer here at the Texas Theater.

Dispatcher – 509 is supposed to be en route.

“Note from J.W. to Jesse Curry of 23 December 1963”: “Oswald was carrying, at the time of his arrest in the Texas Theater, a Smith and Wesson .38 caliber revolver, serial number 510210. This is the same caliber gun Officer Tippit was shot with when he stopped Oswald” (maryferrell.org).

1:55 – Sgt. Gerald Hill gets the call to go to the Texas Theater at this time, according to his report to Chief Curry (texashistory.unt.edu). The drive to the theater, the search of the theater, the scuffle and arrest all happen after this.

1:55-2:00 - *Life* gives this time ("almost 2:00") for Julia Postal's call to police. This is at least fifteen minutes later than her actual call according to police transcripts.

1:57 – KLIF reports on the radio that a Dallas police officer has been killed, "an independent tragedy…quite unrelated to the death of the president."

1:57- At Parkland Hospital, Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman tells Dr. Earl Rose, Chief of Forensic Pathology, that they are taking the body back to Washington. Rose refuses to give him the body, saying by state law there must be an autopsy first. The Secret Service threaten Rose and Dr. Kemp Clark with physical violence and take the body by force, thus disrupting the chain of evidence. The Secret Service agents load the body into a hearse and leave the hospital, going towards Love Field (Crenshaw).

1:58 According to CD 677, Mrs. Kennedy and the casket containing President Kennedy leave Parkland Hospital, accompanied by SS Agents Kellerman, Hill, and Stout.

2:00 – Dallas Police Patrolman M.N. McDonald places his entry into the Texas Theater at this time. Once again, we have anecdotal evidence that Oswald's capture was at or around 2:00. McDonald does not say anything about Johnny Brewer pointing Oswald out to him. In this report, McDonald searches two suspects who are unarmed, before approaching Oswald and telling him to get on his feet. Oswald attempts to reach for the gun at his waist with his right hand. The two struggle for the gun and fall over, and other officers come to the rescue. As McDonald wrests the gun free from Oswald, he hears the hammer snap. By this time there are 7 or 8 officers surrounding McDonald and Oswald, including plainclothes detectives. Oswald is taken out of the theater (Letter to Chief Curry, Dec. 3, texashistory.unt.edu).

The plethora of anecdotal evidence placing the arrest at 2:00 or later raises a thorny question: Should we trust the police transcripts, placing the arrest

before 1:51, or the recollections of all involved, placing it at 2:00? There is little evidence that the transcripts were altered in any way, and 1:50 is accepted by the Warren Report as the time of Oswald's arrest, so it remains mysterious why the arrest is so frequently placed at 2:00 in other reports.

2:00 – The *NY Times*, on Nov. 23, says "The arrest came about 90 minutes after the assassination" ("Police Relate Story of Swift Capture").

2:15 – The *NY Times* gives this as the time of the scuffle in the theater ("Leftist Accused, Nov. 22).

Regarding Oswald's arrest: In his Nov. 22 case report for Oswald's arrest for the murder of the President, Captain Fritz identifies all those involved.

Marion Baker: Saw Oswald in building after shooting.

Deputies Mooney and Weitzmann: Found rifle in TSBD, gave it to Fritz.

Fritz – Found empty and live shells used in offense.

Lt. Day – Lifted rifle used in offense, made prints from rifle and bag used to carry rifle.

Det. Studebaker – made investigation in TSBD.

Det. Hicks and Barnes – made paraffin tests of Oswald's face and hands.

Hill, McDonald, Walker, Hutson, Hawkins, Carroll: arrested Oswald

Mooney: Found *three* empty 6.5 rifle shells on *6th* floor of TSBD

O.P. Wright (Parkland Hospital Security Officer) - Found 6.5 rifle slug, turned over to Secret Service at Parkland

Det. Johnson and Montgomery – Found paper at TSBD used to carry the rifle

Det. Graves – took affidavit from Helen Markham

Det. Senkel, Turner, and Potts – made search of 1026 N. Beckley

Det. Dhority – made lineup for McWatters and Whaley, identified bus transfer found in Oswald's pocket

C.W. Brown – made investigation at TSBD, took witnesses from TSBD to City Hall

G.F. Rose, R.S. Stovall, H.M Moore, J.P. Adamcik – made search of 2515 W. 5th st. in Irving; recovered blanket used to wrap the rifle; recovered Oswald's possessions; brought Wesley Frazier into City Hall for polygraph, found picture of Oswald holding rifle.

J.R. Leavelle- held lineup for Helen Markham, took affidavits of Callaway, Guinyard, Reid, Truly, Scoggins.

R.M. Sims – recovered bus transfer slip from Oswald's shirt pocket.

E.L. Boyd – recovered five live .38 rounds in Oswald's pocket

M.G. Hall – took affidavit from Lee Bowers

George Applin – saw Oswald come into picture show

In addition to the above, Fritz identifies several dozen other witnesses (texashistory.unt.edu).

3:15 - "Networks broadcast news of a suspect's arrest (Manchester).

3:23- "Networks identify Oswald by name; his age is given as 24" (Manchester).

3:26 – "Networks tell of Oswald's 1959 application for Russian citizenship; the public links Tippit's murder with the assassination" (Manchester).

4:09 – Police Transcripts *(Mary Ferrell Chronology)*

Deputy Chief Fisher- Has there been any developments that you can tell me about the shooting of the officer? Was there any connection with the shooting of the president?

Dispatcher – At this time it's my understanding it's the same person. He's in custody…That's not official. That's just the rumor up here.

Afterword

The following is, I believe, a more likely scenario than the one given to us by the Warren Commission. This is conjecture, but entirely based on the facts above.

The assassination itself was orchestrated by men with Secret Service credentials, who then began directing law enforcement and managing the crime scene. These men probably directed the Dallas PD's response, and gave them information that led them to suspect Oswald, including his physical description, his address on Beckley Street, and where to find him at the Texas Theater. Some of the people involved in the assassination were in the TSBD on the 4th and 6th floors, and at least one of the shots may have come from that building. Somehow these men evaded the detection of Truly and Baker, probably because they were well aware of the layout of the building. In the immediate aftermath of the assassination the building was flooded with police and bystanders, and the building was improperly sealed. The fake Secret Service men, believed to be real by Dallas PD, probably facilitated the escape of the actual gunmen.

At 12:30, when the motorcade was passing through Dealey Plaza, Oswald was on the 2nd floor getting the Coke, having eaten his lunch. Immediately after the shooting, Oswald spoke with E.A. Reid, and then encountered Baker and Truly somewhere close to the entrance as he was leaving the building. He then gave Robert MacNeil directions to the payphone and left the building. He possibly encountered two men who claimed to be Secret Service agents. Shortly after this, someone resembling Oswald (possibly accompanied by others) ran out of the TSBD and got into a Nash Rambler to leave the scene. Oswald walked to his usual bus stop, without arousing suspicion, and got on the bus heading toward his apartment (which would go through Dealey Plaza). He left the bus at 12:40 when it got stuck in traffic. He calmly walked to Whaley's taxi and asked for a ride. A woman approached the taxi, and not being in a hurry, he offered his taxi to her, and Whaley gave the ride to Oswald. Perhaps Oswald became concerned that he was being followed, but for some reason he asked to be dropped off five blocks south of his apartment.

Oswald walked to the apartment, changed his clothes, and saw Earlene Roberts, who saw him put on the dark overshirt that she later referred to as

a jacket. He was wearing this dark shirt over a white undershirt when he was arrested, and was never wearing the white jacket worn by the Tippit killer. While Oswald changed his clothes two police officers parked outside the house and honked. He ignored the police, but this must have rattled him. He grabbed his pistol, waited for the police to leave and went outside to wait for the bus (or maybe to consider his next move), with his transfer in his pocket. When the bus didn't come, he began walking to the Texas Theater, where he had been told to meet up with a contact. He didn't arouse the suspicions of the police because he did not resemble Tippit's shooter and was not leaving the Tippit shooting scene.

The police by now were receiving information from the fake Secret Service men linking Oswald to the crime. This information was so vital that Captain Fritz left the crime scene and went to City Hall to look for information on Oswald. Later, Roy Truly had to claim that he noticed that Oswald was missing, even though many other employees were missing, and Truly's "roll call" became the ostensible origin of the idea that Oswald was a suspect (the time of this roll call ranges anywhere from 12:35 to 1:30 in various reports, and in the assassination literature). The roll call probably never happened, and was an invention of the Dallas PD. Tippit was told to go find the suspect in Oak Cliff sometime before 12:54, and he searched desperately for him. Two officers went to Oswald's house but did not enter for some reason. Since information was compartmentalized in the police department, individual officers were not well-informed in the 90 minutes after the assassination, and they were receiving conflicting information in a piecemeal fashion. At around 1:08, Tippit, driving through Oak Cliff in search of Oswald, stumbled upon the man who killed him after a brief conversation. This man, or men, did not kill Tippit out of self-defense; this was an execution. Perhaps Tippit had planned to meet this man to receive instructions from the conspirators; perhaps Tippit argued with the man or threatened to reveal the conspiracy for some reason. Other police officers may not have known the true reason Tippit was in Oak Cliff. In any case, Tippit's actual killer fled the scene and was probably hiding in the parking lot behind the service station at 400 East Jefferson at 1:26, when Oswald was already inside the Texas Theater. Police officers must have been told not to search there by someone in authority who knew the patsy would be

waiting in the Texas Theater. At some point Tippit's real killer was running down an alleyway between 10th and Jefferson, after Oswald had been seen by Johnny Brewer. The Warren Commission later obscured Oswald's entry time at the Texas Theater for this reason.

Some time after 12:30 someone informed Johnny Brewer that he was to be on the lookout for a suspicious character who might be coming to the Texas Theater soon. He was probably shown a photo of Oswald and told that he was to inform the police as soon as this man arrived at the theater. He could've simply been told to be on the lookout for the man in the photo. Brewer could have been threatened; he was somehow made to understand the grave importance of this task; the "IBM men" in the shoe store could have been involved in this. Perhaps he was told that this man was a suspect in the President's murder. Brewer may have recognized Oswald as a former customer of his shoe store. Brewer was necessary for obvious reasons: An anonymous informant could not be the one to alert authorities about Oswald's presence in the theater. Since this person would be an essential ingredient in an investigation, it had to be an innocent civilian. Oswald waited for a bus outside the rooming house but decided to walk the mile to the theater instead, leaving at around 1:04 or 1:05. He probably arrived between 1:20 and 1:25, walking briskly down Beckley and turning west on Jefferson. The Warren Commission would push back his entrance to the official time of 1:40.

Oswald entered the theater, possibly without paying, and sat on the first floor. He might have forgotten his meeting place in the balcony, or he might have chosen not to go there. He probably did not know whom he was supposed to meet and he had no idea that Tippit had been shot. Brewer saw Oswald enter the theater, searched the theater, ensured that Oswald was sitting inside, and told Postal to call the police.

At some point someone other than Julia Postal (who only told police that someone entered the theater without paying, and didn't even know if he was still there) told police that the patsy for both murders would be waiting in the Texas Theater in the balcony. This could have happened much earlier, and the police would have known that a civilian would be making a confirmation when Oswald arrived. Once the verification was received, the

police were sent there en masse. Some police may have arrived before 1:45, when the dispatcher first informed officers that a suspect had entered the Texas Theater. According to witness statements, the police were in the theater for about ten minutes, leaving with Oswald at 1:51. There are some reports that place the police entry time as early as 1:40, before they should have known that Oswald was there. In early reports the arrest was reported at 2:00, possibly to hide the fact that police arrived too early, but in other reports it is strangely placed as early as 1:40. As the police carried Oswald out of the theater, a large crowd was chanting, “Kill him, kill him.” Immediately following the arrest the Dallas Police Department was told that Oswald would be the patsy for both murders, and they quickly told this myth to the public. The Oswald story was soon solidified by the mass media and the Warren Commission, and now it is in the history books.

Part 2: Sirhan Sirhan

Introduction

Between September 1966 and June 1968 Sirhan Sirhan, a law abiding, friendly Palestinian immigrant with dreams of becoming a jockey,

underwent a profound psychological metamorphosis. This culminated with Sirhan firing a pistol at Robert F. Kennedy in the Ambassador Hotel on June 4, 1968. On April 17, 1969, he was found guilty of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to commit murder. He was sentenced to death, but in 1972 this sentence was commuted to life in prison. The “lone nut” narrative that the mainstream media loves so much was cemented at Sirhan’s trial, and aided by psychiatrists, including defense psychiatrist Bernard Diamond, who testified in court that Sirhan had programmed himself to kill Kennedy without remembering it.

This timeline attempts to answer some simple questions about Sirhan Sirhan and Kennedy’s assassination:

What happened to Sirhan?

When did it happen to him?

Where did it happen to him?

Who, if anyone, did this to him?

The LAPD’s deliberate mishandling and suppression of evidence is well established and, while important, makes an infuriating research subject. What is more difficult, more murky, and harder to pinpoint is what happened to Sirhan in the years leading up to the assassination: namely, Sirhan’s psychological transformation. I have tried to account for Sirhan’s whereabouts for as much time as possible in the years and months leading up to the June of 1968. I wanted to know where he was and who was around him at all times. I examined the history of the CIA’s MKULTRA program using declassified documents to see if the CIA was the source of a Manchurian Candidate hypnosis-programming operation. In the timeline you will see that the CIA clearly had the means to program someone like Sirhan, who was highly susceptible to hypnosis. If the CIA programmed him to assassinate RFK, we still do not have enough information about MKULTRA or its successor, MKSEARCH, to put Sirhan in the presence of anyone connected to those programs. The people who did this would have to be highly trained, and the many CIA-sponsored academic programs were the only arena in which they could have learned these advanced psychological techniques.

However, the CIA’s role in this investigation is complicated by Sirhan’s two-year involvement with the Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC), an American branch of the international Rosicrucian Order. This organization appears to have cultish powers of mind control over its members, and many of their practices have disturbing correlations to what happened to Sirhan psychologically. AMORC almost certainly had a causal relationship with Sirhan’s downward spiral; they were not the innocuous New Age advocates of peace and spirituality that they were made out to be during Sirhan’s trial.

In September 1966 Sirhan had a horse riding accident in Norco, California, and his personality changed dramatically. Friends and relatives described his personality before the accident as polite, upbeat, and friendly, and described him as a changed man afterwards. He became nervous, depressed, irritable, prone to outbursts, and further reliant on mysticism. He showed some of these traits as soon as he arrived at the emergency room the day of the accident.

Before Kennedy declared his candidacy on March 16, 1968, Sirhan’s whereabouts are partially accounted for. The spring and summer of 1967 finds him unemployed, and aside from sparse doctor’s visits we don’t know what he was doing between January and September. He was apparently living at his mother’s home in Pasadena, looking for jobs and seeing friends who noticed a sharp change in his personality since the accident. There is evidence of a mysterious trip to San Francisco in March of ‘67.

After Kennedy entered the Democratic party’s primary election on March 16th of 1968, Sirhan left few traces of his whereabouts, but we do know that he became obsessed with the candidate. He was seen by multiple people at Kennedy’s campaign events, even by one person in Turlock, California, 300 miles north of Sirhan’s home in Pasadena, where Kennedy was touring the San Joaquin Valley. He was seen buying ammunition, shooting a gun at firing ranges, and quite simply stalking Kennedy. At times he was seen accompanied by a man and a woman, one woman, or two men – and none of these people have been identified. Sirhan later had memories of being at a gun range with a man who was teaching him how to shoot at human organs. Sirhan, who remembers many other details of his life, remembers almost nothing about how or why he decided to assassinate Senator Kennedy. The evidence in this timeline suggests at least one highly

skilled programmer, who caused Sirhan to fire a gun at RFK on June 4 and then disappeared: a puppet master in the shadows, if you will. This programmer must have been familiar with the Rosicrucian teachings Sirhan had been learning, and was possibly using that organization to gain access to Sirhan or to single him out as a candidate for their operations.

This book will show that catastrophic damage was inflicted on Sirhan's mind, and that it must have been done to him by well-trained predators whose goal was to prevent Kennedy from becoming president.

Sirhan's desire to kill Kennedy is inexplicable without the existence of a programmer. He could not have accidentally programmed himself, and he never consciously decided to kill Kennedy. The idea that he was enraged by Kennedy's support for Israel was embedded in his mind while under hypnosis by his own defense team during the trial and he has dutifully repeated it ever since. While his AMORC teachings deeply influenced him, it is unlikely that he hypnotized himself into an assassination plot and utterly forgot that he had done so. He remembered many aspects of his life very clearly, before, during and after the assassination. The point is that at some time he made a decision to shoot his gun at Kennedy: He drove to the Ambassador Hotel that night, and he brought his revolver into the pantry and waited for the senator, but to this day he has no memory of making this decision. He had a deep-rooted hatred for Zionists based on childhood experiences; he had no such antipathy for Kennedy, and the origins of Sirhan's sudden hatred of Kennedy are murky.

As strange as it sounds and as impossible as it may seem, it is a scientific fact, based on Los Angeles County Coroner Thomas Noguchi's autopsy of Kennedy, that the fatal shots were fired from directly behind Kennedy. One bullet entered Kennedy's skull right behind the ear, traveling upward and from right to left, leaving only fragments in the head. Another bullet entered Kennedy's right armpit and exited his body, traveling upward from right to left. A third bullet entered just below this wound and did not exit the body. The gun that fired the fatal shot was an inch away from Kennedy's head; Sirhan was never standing closer than two feet to Kennedy, and the two were facing each other while the shots were fired. Furthermore, we know from forensic audio analyst Philip van Praag's analysis of Polish reporter Stanislaw Pruszynski's audio recording of the assassination that at least 13 bullets were fired that night (Sirhan's Iver Johnson Cadet .22 revolver only

held 8 bullets). And as Lisa Pease discusses in depth in *A Lie Too Big to Fail*, bullet holes in the door frames in the pantry confirm a second shooter.

Because of all this, we know that a second shooter fired the fatal shots from behind Senator Kennedy and then escaped. So we must establish how Sirhan was convinced to go to the Ambassador Hotel and fire his gun at Kennedy so that he could take the blame. In order to do that we need to trace Sirhan's steps in the years leading up to the night of June 4th, 1968.

The timeline is not meant to be an exhaustive look at the LAPD's investigation of the assassination, the ballistics evidence, the trial, the deep state's motives for assassinating Kennedy, or the many other topics involved in this narrative. It merely aims to account for Sirhan's transformation and to answer the questions *what*, *where*, *when*, and *how*. I have included events from his childhood in Jerusalem because it is impossible to understand Sirhan without some understanding of the trauma he experienced there.

My source material is from maryferrell.org: The Special Unit Senator LAPD Collection, the FBI's Los Angeles Field Office Files, the transcripts of Sirhan's trial, Sirhan's appeal documents, the 1992 Request to the Grand Jury, Lawrence Teeter's Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus, the Sirhan Sirhan Court Documents (related to his appeals), Sirhan's Parole Hearings, and the Miscellaneous RFK Assassination Documents. The MKULTRA material is from theblackvault.com, where all existing MKULTRA documents are archived and have been released under the Freedom of Information Act.

The Timeline

March 19, 1944: Sirhan is born in Jerusalem. The Sirhan family lives on St. Paul Street, on the dividing line between the Arab-Palestinian and Zionist neighborhoods. A barbed wire fence separates the two neighborhoods. Sirhan will later tell NBC News that he remembers "Violence itself, sir, just war, bloodshed, fighting, sounds of bombs – and enough to frighten a young child…"

1947: During the Arab-Israeli war, Sirhan is at the Damascus Gate with his father when a bomb falls and causes mass bloodshed. Sirhan stays in bed for two days and won't leave the house for two weeks afterward. Around

this time a dynamite blast goes off in the neighborhood, which blows up a British soldier (the Jews are trying to force the British out of the country). The next day Sirhan finds the leg of the soldier and knows that it was a soldier from the kind of shoe on the foot.

April 1948: Sirhan witnesses a truck full of naked bleeding Arabic women being paraded through the neighborhood. These women are victims of the Deir-Yassin Massacre. Jewish soldiers are showing off these women, saying to the residents “Look what we can do,” and laughing. As Sirhan described in his trial, “these two hundred and fifty some people, women and children, sir, were slaughtered in cold blood by the Jews, the Zionists and by the military guards and the haganna and they were dumped into wells and some of the women, sir, were taken on a truck and paraded through the city to frighten the remaining villagers that refused to be evicted in order to push them out of their homes once and for all in order for the Zionists to take over.”

May 1948: Sirhan finds a man stuck in the barbed wire fence by his house. On closer inspection he sees that the man has been shot and killed.

1948: Sirhan’s family escapes from their home on their hands and knees to avoid the bombs and the shooting because the “terrorism of the Zionists” force them to leave their home. They move into a convent with many other families. They sleep on the floor since there are no mattresses or blankets. Then the family moves to the Camp of the Refugees in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. They live in a 900-year old building that is cracked and falling apart from the bombing. They will live in this building until 1956 when they emigrate to the United States. There is one toilet for the eleven families who live here. They get their drinking water from a cistern where there are sometimes dead bodies floating. At one point Sirhan goes to get water from the well and he finds a human arm in the water bucket. There is no heat in this building and they are very often cold. They get very little food from the United Nations and are often hungry.

1949-50: Sirhan begins kindergarten at the Lutheran World Federation School in the Old City of Jerusalem.

1952: The CIA’s Technical Services Division creates the MKULTRA program and places the Cal Tech-educated chemist Sidney Gottlieb in charge of the program.

The following are some of the MKULTRA projects studying the manipulation of human behavior (the majority of this research takes place at university medical schools): Subproject 49, inaugurated in 1952, directly concerns hypnosis and mind control. Subproject 5 also concerns hypnosis, trance and suggestibility. Subproject 51-B studies plants and fungi of pharmacological interest, and their effects on the central nervous system. This program lasts from 1956 to at least 1963. Subproject 52 studies "chemical and physical manipulants [sic]" as late as 1964 (their purpose is "To provide a consulting service on chemical problems and to procure chemicals as needed"). Subproject 54 studies ways of inducing a concussion on a person without advanced warning or physical harm, so that a subject would have immediate and complete amnesia, and the device could be used over and over again. Possible methods include sound waves and gas. Subproject 56 involves studying alcohol and the way animals and humans metabolize it – specifically if there is a way to immediately make someone sober after consuming alcohol. Subproject 57 studies sleep and insomnia, and the effects of insomnia on the brain and the effects of carious drugs and chemicals on sleep. Subproject 60 studies the difference in changes in human behavior brought about by stress and changes in behavior brought about by loss of cerebral tissue. Tests are done on mental patients. Subproject 63 mysteriously studies social drinking, psychochemicals and the manipulation of human behavior. Subproject 48 studies the motivations of people who choose to defect and change loyalties from their native country to another; it attempts to detect, predict and target these individuals. Subproject 68 studies the effects on human behavior of the repetition of verbal signals. They study the effects of predetermined signals on physiological functions and patterns of behavior. This is called "Psychic Driving." The intention is to give cues that will induce a pattern of behavior on a patient. This is remarkably similar to what Harvard Medical School Professor of Psychology Dr. Daniel Brown claims happened to Sirhan (Brown interviewed Sirhan for 60 hours between 2008 and 2010). In Subproject 68 this involves putting the patient in partial sensory deprivation and giving them intensive repetition of verbal signals, 16 hours a day for 6-7 days in a row. After this the patient will be kept in continuous sleep for 7-10 days. The intention is to create "lasting changes in the subject's behavior." Subproject 70's purpose is "To conduct research to define mechanisms involved in involuntary sleep, and related unconscious states."

The agency wants tools to quickly make someone unconscious, or helpless and immobile.

In 1973, under orders from CIA Director Richard Helms, all documents related to MKULTRA will be destroyed. Some 20,000 documents are accidentally saved and will be released later under the Freedom of Information Act. Because of this, many specifics of MKULTRA experiments, locations and test subjects, and the subsequent MKSEARCH program, will be lost.

One research proposal (undated), entitled “Studies in the Military Application of Hypnotism,” appears in the MKULTRA files. It outlines a very similar scenario to what allegedly happened to Sirhan:

> Hypnotism is now a recognized branch of the science of psychology operating under known laws producing known phenomena. The proposals we are about to make can be verified by means of the scientific method. In deep hypnotism or somnambulism, the subject has complete amnesia; he remembers nothing of what has happened. One out of every five persons can reach this depth in the hypnotic trance. With this subject, we can remove from him all knowledge of ever having been hypnotized and make it impossible for anyone else to hypnotize him except a person who has been designated by the hypnotist. It is our contention that a long and involved message given to a subject could be recovered from the unconscious mind only by one specific operator, who alone would be able to hypnotize the subject and recover the ‘secret ’message. In the waking state, the subject would have no knowledge of this message. He would deny his ever having been hypnotized, and the second hypnotist would be the only person able to re-hypnotize him. He would go to this second operator as a result of the post-hypnotic suggestion of an ordinary military transfer. He would not ‘talk ’because he has nothing to talk about. Furthermore, it is our contention that alcohol, drugs, and-or physical duress would not be successful in recovering this message.

It is not hard to imagine a hypnotist programming not just a message, but a certain action to be provoked by specific cues, into a very receptive victim

who in his waking state will not remember the programming itself or what he was programmed to do.

1954-55 (Date unknown): Cornell psychology professors M.E. Bitterman and F.L. Marcuse prepare a paper for the MKULTRA program outlining possibilities for guaranteeing amnesia in a subject. In a section titled "Conditioning (& Deconditioning)" the authors write:

"Roughly stated, this training teaches the Subject to respond to a signal or symbol, in the same manner as he would respond to the stimulus for which the symbol stands. Classically, Pavlov's dog's mouth waters when he hears the bell that goes with food – without the food…Jones learns to respond to stimuli intended for Smith, as though he were that Smith. He has been 'conditioned 'to Smith, 'deconditioned 'to Jones. Such trainings are integrated on all levels, conscious and subconscious. Hypnosis can assist in establishing the desired conditioned responses. A.C.R. (condit. Resp.) is meant to stick. It can be interfered with, or abolished, by new training in another direction, or back to the earlier state." (This situation corresponds closely to what Sirhan will later tell Dr. Brown about the night of the shooting.) The paper goes on to discuss dozens of chemicals and drugs which might be applied to guarantee amnesia and obedience in a subject. The paper also contains a section on Unwitting Subjects: "The problem of how to effect control of a subject by the use of hypnosis or chemicals or a combination thereof, without the subject being aware that he is being approached (redacted), is one of the most interesting and complex problems studied by the ARTICHOKE group." Methods include Narco-interrogation and control, chemicals, odorless gases, aerosols, dusts, shock therapy, and most interestingly medical treatment for illness or accident (Sirhan may have been subjected to this after his accident at the horse ranch in 1966). The authors state that "At the present time, the use of a carefully laid on medical cover to obtain either a narco-interrogation or narco-hypnotic interrogation appears to be the best weapon presently available. It is not necessary to go into detail as to how this is done but experience indicates it is our best technique."

The authors continue: "Ideally, control of the subject obtained without his knowledge or consent and followed by a total amnesia is the goal but at the present time this appears impossible. Much research and experimentation is necessary to achieve these ends and as stated above, for the present at least

a smooth, carefully designed medical cover appears the best approach." This is precisely the Manchurian Candidate scenario alleged by Dr. Brown, and it should be noted that the authors of this particular paper are writing in 1954; given the secrecy of the MKULTRA program it is hard to know what advancements could have been made by 1966. Sirhan may not have been completely unwilling to take part in an assassination, however. It is feasible for a controller to channel Sirhan's rage against Zionists into a rage against RFK. We see this connection between RFK and Zionism, however tenuous, being made in Sirhan's notebook after Kennedy declares his candidacy in 1968. Indeed the strangeness of Sirhan's rage against RFK, and his lack of memory of its origin (according to prosecutors his hatred of RFK stems from one TV special and several newspaper articles found in his pocket the night of the assassination) make us wonder if his rage against Jews (which is not surprising given his childhood experiences) was channeled by an outside controller into the seemingly random hatred of Kennedy. The paper contains a section titled "Prediction of Hypnotizability," which outlines some of the traits of people highly susceptible to hypnosis: gladly yielding to the influence of leaders; seeking the company of friendly persons and endeavoring to please them; lowered skin resistance (which sounds like the "skin test" given to Sirhan at the Rosicrucian meeting he will attend just a week before the assassination).

In Judith Pintar and Steven Jay Lynn's *Hypnosis: A Brief History*, the authors explain some of the background to our current understanding of hypnosis. After World War 2, academia split into two camps regarding the causes of hypnosis. Clark Hull pioneered the "non-state theory," which argued that a patient under hypnosis does not go into an altered state of consciousness, but merely responds to social conditioning according to his previous expectations and understanding of hypnosis. This non-state theory seeks to explain the experience of hypnosis based on cognitive functions and social conditioning and denies that a true "trance" state is the cause of hypnosis. On the other hand, Robert W. White argued in a 1941 paper that people under hypnosis undergo a trance state. Ernest Hilgard, and other researchers at Stanford, furthered this theory by hypothesizing that the human mind consists of an executive ego, which directs most of its conscious functions, and several subsystems that carry out the work of the mind with little interference from this executive ego. This executive ego, while under hypnosis, is divided into two subsets, separated by an "amnesic

barrier," so that the patient can function cognitively without interference from the conscious mind. This explains much of the dissociation that we see in hypnosis. This "state theory" has evolved in many different directions since the mid-century period and has many advocates.

Non-state theorists, beginning with the work of Theodore Sarbin in 1950, argued that dissociation does occur during hypnosis, but does not cause the behavior that we witness in a patient under hypnosis. What we see, according to this theory, is a patient taking a role that they are familiar with, based on their personal familiarity with the idea of hypnosis, and this role is encouraged and suggested by the hypnotizer. While dissociation can occur in this process, it doesn't always occur, and some patients even have a "hidden observer" according to some theorists. This is a part of the brain that, while inactive, is able to observe what is happening consciously, and is able to make its presence known. This theory has also had a long and vibrant evolution in academia, and both "state" and "non-state" theories have converged in some ways.

An important development has also been the "trait debate." According to Pintar and Lynn, there are three separate positions regarding an individual's hypnotizability: 1) Anyone can be hypnotized, regardless of personality traits; 2) There are some common traits to "hypnotizable" people but these alone cannot predict who can or cannot be hypnotized; and 3) Hypnotizability cannot be taught, and one must have a natural aptitude for hypnosis in order to respond to cognitively complex suggestions.

What is interesting about Sirhan's case is that both state and non-state theories can account for him being hypnotized. Either he went into a trance state and suffered total amnesia during his programming, or his years of immersion into occult teachings prepared him to take on the role of that his hypnotizer suggested to him, and that dissociation was merely one effect of his basic willingness to be hypnotized. Most importantly, in addition to the MKULTRA research, the dominant strains of academic theory regarding hypnosis both can account for a hypnosis scenario for Sirhan. What is strikingly absent from the history of hypnosis is the idea that someone can enter a dissociative state and hypnotize himself, suffering total amnesia in the process. Nearly all hypnosis scenarios involve a hypnotist, who is highly trained. Sirhan, with no psychiatric education, would have no idea

how to hypnotize himself, even with his immersion in Rosicrucian teachings.

1954: Sirhan witnesses a local shopkeeper get blown up by a bomb and is severely traumatized. Interestingly, in his trial Sirhan remembers his traumatic childhood experiences quite well, but has no memory of the trance-writing in his notebook or the assassination of Kennedy.

5-5-55: A 30-page MKULTRA memorandum entitled “Hypnotism and Covert Operations” is sent from the Chief of the Technical Branch to the Chief of the Security Research Staff. Under a section titled “Post-Hypnotic Suggestion” the authors have written:

> Let us suppose that a good hypnotic subject has entered the deepest state of hypnosis. If the operator then suggests, ‘After I awaken you, you will have no recollection of what has occurred. Furthermore, exactly one hour after you are awakened you will go to the nearest telephone and dial (any number). To whomever answers you will say (any message),' in all likelihood the subject will do just that; and extraordinarily enough within a minute or two of 1 hour. This is a post-hypnotic suggestion. If the subject after awakening remembers or is told that he has been given a post-hypnotic suggestion, what it is, and when it will become operative, he still will experience the greatest difficulty in resisting it. Almost the only way in which he can obtain release from an almost intolerable feeling of discomfort is to carry out the post-hypnotic suggestion as given him; or, alternatively, have the suggestions removed under hypnosis. For what has been created is very similar to, if not identical with a compulsion neurosis.

The authors go on to state that “Post-hypnotic suggestions reiterated during several sessions of hypnosis have been known to endure for years.” Knowing this, we can see how a skilled hypnotist would not need that much time with Sirhan between March 16 and June 4: only several sessions would be needed in order to cause him to seek out Kennedy at the Ambassador Hotel on June 4 (where he was guaranteed to be that night), drink some alcohol, obey the commands of the girl with the polka dot dress, and to enter a trance state in which he believes he is firing at a gun range.

According to the documentation above, this is well-established knowledge as early as 1955. It is not far-fetched to imagine this happening to Sirhan in

1968; in fact it is the only scenario that adequately explains what happened.

The authors go on to discuss the question of whether a person in hypnosis will violate his own moral code:

> But suppose that while under hypnosis a subject is told that a loved one's life is in danger from a maniac and that the only means of rescue is to shoot a person designated as the maniac? Three expert practitioners (two from universities and the Agency consultant quoted above) say that there is no doubt on the basis of their experience that under such circumstances murder could be attempted. The only requirement is that the proposal be put in a form and manner acceptable to the subject. Most modern authorities feel that a subject will carry out any suggestion which he can rationalize within the framework of his moral code. (Currently there is a murder trial in [redacted] in which the murderer has been judged to have been under hypnosis at the time of the crime. He has been retried, released and the hypnotist tried and convicted. The case is under appeal. The comment of the three knowledgeable informants was that the hypnotist must have been a rank amateur to have been found out since any experienced operator would have known how to suggest away the fact that he had arranged the crime.)

As we will see, Sirhan's hatred of Zionists will be converted into a hatred of RFK. This fit into Sirhan's moral code quite easily – his childhood traumas were easily manipulated, and his blind rage towards Israel was a valuable tool for whoever hypnotized him. We also see here a warning to anyone who would attempt this: Lack of skill in programming will reveal the presence and the culpability of the programmer. We see this to some degree in the Charles Manson trial, in which Vincent Bugliosi was able to show that Manson was guilty despite never actually killing anyone.

The paper goes on to describe ways of inducing an unwilling or unwitting subject into the hypnotic state: A medical examination, an electro-encephalograph test, electro-cardiogram test, vitamin injections, etc. These methods could be used to inject drugs into the subject. After Sirhan's horse-riding accident in September 1966 all these things were done to him during multiple hospital visits. It was at this time when he underwent the personality change that his friends and family noticed. Dr. Brown believes

Sirhan's accident was faked and prearranged. Given the memo above this is not far-fetched: Someone could have convinced Sirhan under hypnosis that he would get a lot of money in Worker's Compensation if he had an "accident" at work. Indeed we will see Sirhan obsessing over his insurance payout later.

The memo refers to "one of the foremost U.S. laboratory experimenters with hypnosis" who successfully completed an experiment on a college campus in 1939. This experimenter hypnotized an atheist to become a devout Christian for two weeks, after which he was restored to his former atheism by the hypnotist. There is no way of knowing how long the religious conversion would have lasted, but if circumstances reinforce the conversion, it might be sustainable for the long term. The memo recommends more field research to find out different ways of inducing hypnosis on unwilling subjects. Since Sirhan was interested in mysticism and hypnosis anyway, it would have been have been quite easy to convince him to undergo hypnosis.

1956: After the Suez Crisis and the termination of the hostilities Sirhan's family decides to emigrate to the United States and apply for refugee status.

1-12-57: Sirhan and his family enter the United States in New York and apply for Immigrant Visas as refugees from Palestine, coming from Amman, Jordan. The family is sponsored by Haldor Lillenas. Sirhan's brothers Adel and Munir and sister Aida arrive while brothers Said and Sharieff stay in Jordan, arriving in 1960. Sirhan's father Bishara will live primarily in New York until his final departure from America in 1966, when he returns to Jordan permanently.

1959-1960: Sirhan attends Eliot Junior High School in Pasadena. Sirhan, being the only non-white person at the school, is a loner and is very shy, but is obedient and tractable. Sirhan seems to adopt an attitude of superiority over other students.

April 1961: From John Marks, "The Search for the Manchurian Candidate": The CIA's Office of Research and Development, headed by Dr. Stephen Aldrich, successfully plants electrodes into dogs and controls their behavior. This experimentation is designed to be applied to humans, in order to guide a person to commit an assassination. At this time the CIA is also working on creating amnesia and implanting false memories in patients. They are doing

this at the Edgewood Chemical Laboratory in Maryland and “at least one American penal institution."

2-6-62: (From FOIA documents) A proposal for a continuation of MKULTRA Subproject 45 is submitted to the CIA’s Technical Services Division (TSD). This project involves “The creation of reliable research ‘tools ’for study of stress phenomena in animals and man with the end view of understanding these phenomena to the extent that practical applications can be realized in interpreting and controlling human behavior.” Another goal includes “The production and study of new chemical and physical agents of significance in connection with the stress reactions.” Included in this is a focus on developing pharmaceuticals or chemicals which would produce a sleeping effect or “knockout” effect on a human or animal. In the proposal it is claimed that considerable progress has been made and more progress is expected. In the 1960 proposal it is mentioned that testing has been done on advanced cancer patients. The 1959 proposal contains a plan to develop materials and techniques to produce the maximum amount of physical and emotional stress on human beings.

March 1962: The federal government donates part of their Naval hospital in Norco, California, to the state of California. This facility becomes the first state-run narcotics rehabilitation center in the nation. During and after the horse riding accident that will cause such a dramatic change in Sirhan’s personality, he will live within walking distance of this facility. Directly attached to the hospital is the Navy’s Naval Sea Systems Command facility, which does rocket development and testing. Many of the CIA’s MKULTRA experiments will be coordinated with the Navy’s Office of Naval Research. While no records exist of CIA involvement at the California Rehabilitation Center or the Naval facility at this time, drug addicts were very common subjects in the CIA’s projects and this would be an ideal place for someone to experiment on Sirhan. Even before these programmers knew of Kennedy’s candidacy, or had any tactical use for Sirhan as a Manchurian Candidate, they could have studied him for research purposes in a confidential government-sponsored project.

9-5-62: The Sirhans buy a house at 696 East Howard Street in Pasadena for $11,500.

11-5-62: MKULTRA Subproject 46 is completed. This has been in operation since 1955 and its goal has been to study the effects of LSD on the nervous system.

3-24-63: MKULTRA's Subproject 47 is extended for one more year. It has been in operation since March 1955 and its purpose is "For pharmacological and clinical testing in animals and human volunteers of drugs altering behavior." Testing takes place at the New Jersey Neuro-Psychiatric Institute under the guidance of Carl C. Pfeiffer MD. They are using volunteers from the New Jersey State Reformatory at Bordentown. They are testing the effects of LSD and many other mind-altering substances on behavior. Pfeiffer previously carried out this testing at Emory University in Atlanta. One document from 1957-58 describes tests carried out on inmates in a federal prison in Atlanta: subjects are given LSD orally and interviewed after a three hour period about their experiences. After a 24-hour period subjects prepare a written statement about the experience.

6-13-63: Sirhan graduates from John Muir High School in Pasadena. He has completed the three-year California Cadet Corps program. This is a military science course, which involves range practice, basic training, first aid, camouflage, map reading, military history and related subjects. This program is run through the California State Adjutant General. Sirhan is not on the rifle team and does not receive gun training.

Fall 1963- Sirhan takes courses at Pasadena City College- Physical Education (ballroom dancing), Health Education, English 123, Intermediate German, Elementary Russian, History 1A (European history to 1648), and Basic Communication 1. He gets several D's, an F, and a C. He will take classes for the next two years before leaving without taking a degree.

According to the *LA Times* (5-9-68), Sirhan is active in the Organization of Arab Students while he is a student at PCC. This is according to Dr. Mohammed T. Mehdi, secretary for the Action Committee for American Arab Relations. In the *LA Times* article Mehdi refers to Sirhan as an "Arab nationalist." The Organization of Arab Students (OAS) was heavily supported by the American Friends of the Middle East, which was funded and managed by the CIA (American Examiner 3-2-67). So here we have Sirhan active in a CIA-sponsored student organization as early as 1963 or

'64. The question is, how did Dr. Mehdi know about Sirhan's involvement in this program?

In an article in the *LA Times* from January 5, 1969 ("Background of Sirhan Reveals Confused Man"), we find corroboration that Sirhan was a member of OAS from his late teens into college. A Jordanian named Sam Farraj, who had known the Sirhan family in Jerusalem, is quoted saying he saw Sirhan with his brothers frequently at OAS meetings and Sirhan was an "ardent Arab nationalist."

Regarding the OAS's parent organization the American Friends of the Middle East: Their Report from 1963-64 explains that they are a Washington, D.C.-based "private, non-profit organization committed to furthering better communication and understanding between the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa and the United States" and that the organization "renders specific services in the fields of education, training, information/research services, and cultural exchange." They have offices in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, and in various cities throughout the Middle East. The overall goal of AFME is to make developments within the Middle East more understandable to Americans and to "adapt American values and concepts to the changing requirements of the Middle East." One of their major focuses is education - they provide scholarships and guidance for Middle Eastern students enrolled in American colleges. Their support for the Organization of Arab Students would've fallen under this wing of AFME.

But most strikingly, in the AFME's report, we see that on the Board of Directors is none other than its co-founder, Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA agent who infamously helped overthrow the government of Mohammed Mossadegh in the Iranian coup of 1953.

Regarding the CIA's support for AFME, I will now reprint a 1967 article from the Jewish Telegraph Agency in full:

Congressmen William Fitts Ryan and Benjamin; Rosenthal, both New York Democrats, this weekend condemned the support of an anti-Israel organization by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The Congressmen cited authoritative reports to the effect that the CIA has financed the American Friends of the Middle East, a pro-Arab, anti-Israel propaganda front. They called for an investigation by President Johnson.

Mr. Ryan and Mr. Rosenthal said "the CIA undermines the Administration policy of friendship toward Israel by secretly funding the AFME." They cited AFME's attacks on Israel and propaganda issued by Elmo Hutchison, AFME's former Middle East director. They pointed out that AFME helps finance and guides an organization it created, the Organization of Arab Students. The group spreads anti-Israel and sometimes anti-Jewish propaganda at over 100 American colleges and universities by Arab students. The Arab student activity is supported by the Arab League in Cairo, which sends out the propaganda lines to be followed. The CIA apparently financed the anti-Israel propaganda in an effort to woo young Arabs away from Communism.

The two Congressmen said: "The CIA's covert domestic activities are totally inconsistent with the most basic principles of democratic government. We cannot afford to allow a Government agency to act against the best interests of the nation." They suggest that the Administration immediately terminate CIA meddling on the domestic scene, and urged "a watchdog committee composed of seven members of the Senate and seven members of the House to oversee CIA operations."

AFME took credit publicly for organizing the Arab students. On a number of occasions, AFME petitioned Congress to take anti-Israel positions. AFME also opposed measures designed to relieve the plight of Soviet Jewry. Among the leaders of AFME have been such former State Department officials as Harold B. Minor, who served in the State Department's Near Eastern division.

Charges were made in 1963 in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that $4,000,000 was paid by the United States Government to finance AFME. The testimony was offered by Bushrod Howard, Jr., a representative of the royalist Yemen Government. The State Department denied the charges. It emerged later that AFME's expenditures, in excess of $1,000,000 a year for a number of years, were subsidized through various conduits by the CIA.

Most of the AFME funds were spent to bring Arab students to the United States, whose main activity turned out to be anti-Israel propaganda. Instead

of waging an anti-Communist campaign, such students generally threatened that the Near East would go Communist unless the United States repudiated Israel. ("Congressmen Condemn Support of Pro-arab, Anti-israel Group by Cia," Feb. 2, 1967).

Was Sirhan involved in a CIA-led anti-communist student movement four or five years before the assassination? Was this how he came under the auspices of the CIA? As we will see, in the five years leading up to the assassination Sirhan will be seen repeatedly with groups of Arabic friends, some of them who are quite politically active. And crucially, in the few months before the assassination, as he is becoming more obsessed with Kennedy, he will be seen repeatedly with unidentified Arabic men. Could any of these men be affiliated with the Organization of Arab Students and/or AFME?

7-26-63: A report prepared for the Director of Central Intelligence finds that since 1953 the MKULTRA program (run by the CIA's Technical Services Division) "has initiated 144 projects related to the control of human behavior" and that "25 of these projects remain in existence at the present time, while a number of others are in various stages of termination."

1964: At some point in 1964 Sirhan buys a used pink and white De Soto car for $150.

1-31-64: Sirhan closes the only bank account he will ever have, with a balance of $20.30 of accumulated interest. According to his mother he will simply keep all his money in cash after this.

2-64 to 8-64: Sirhan works as a gardener at Theodore von Karman's estate in Pasadena, working under caretaker William Beveridge. Von Karman was an well-known scientist at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory.

3-30-64: Sirhan gets a job as a gas station attendant at Elite Motor Service in Pasadena. According to his boss Clarence Copping, Sirhan works the 4 PM to 3 AM shift and he is an excellent employee.

5-16-64: Sirhan returns several books to the Pasadena Library: "Short History of the Near East" by Harry Ellis; "Heritage of the Desert" by Sydney M. Fisher; and "Balkan Peninsula." He is fined $2.56 for the late

books. On the back of his fine slip is written “Accident not working – insurance a few months ago.”

June 1964: The CIA’s mind-control program, MKULTRA, which has been in operation since 1953, is converted to a new program known as MKSEARCH. It, like MKULTRA, is run by Sidney Gottlieb. They will use chemicals and drugs on prisoners and paid volunteers, doing experiments on the effects of various substances on the brain (Marks).

9-28-64: Sirhan ends his job at Elite Motor Service and begins working at Richfield gas station in Pasadena. He is hired by the station’s owner Jack Davis who says Sirhan is an excellent employee but has no friends to speak of. According to Davis, Sirhan is already betting on horses at this time, before his employment at Santa Anita as a horse walker. He is in fact a heavy better, spend a large portion of his earnings on the horses.

1964- At PCC Sirhan takes Reading and Composition, Introduction to Physiology and Cultural Anthropology. He gets D’s and C’s.

1964-65 Sirhan takes Golf (D), Introduction to Russian (C), Introductory Biology (D), and other classes.

1965: Sirhan’s father Bishara returns to his hometown near Ramallah, Israel, and will not return to America.

According to one LAPD source, Sirhan meets friend Tom Rathke in 1965 while working for Gordon Bowsher at the Yellow King Ranch in Chino, but in other sources they do not meet until they work together in Corona in 1966. In both sources Rathke and Sirhan discuss the differences between the Theosophical Society, to which Rathke belongs, and the Rosicrucians. The LAPD on the whole portrays the AMORC as an innocuous society geared toward spirituality, the brotherhood of man and other peaceful endeavors.

3-20-65: Sirhan’s sister Aida dies of leukemia. Shortly after this, Sirhan leaves the home and his mother does not know his whereabouts for some time. She believes he is living with a group of boys and girls in Pasadena and that she is unaware of his activities. While he is working at a gas station until June, the entire spring and summer of 1965 is a mysterious period when Sirhan could've been with any group of people doing anything, presumably in the Los Angeles area.

3-23-65: Aida Sirhan is buried at Forest Lawn Cemetery in Glendale.

5-18-65: Sirhan is dismissed from PCC after failing five classes.

6-7-65: Sirhan ends his job at Richfield gas station.

8-15-65: Sirhan starts a job at a Chevron station in Pasadena.

9-17-65: Sirhan ends his job at Chevron.

10-15-65: Sirhan begins working as a hot walker (cooling down horses after a race) for a horse owner and trainer named Gordon Bowsher at the Santa Anita Racetrack in Arcadia. Sirhan's foreman John Shear loans Sirhan riding equipment and books about horses. Here we have the origin of Sirhan's obsession with becoming a jockey. Shear will later recall that Sirhan was a poor rider of horses and fell frequently. One of his coworkers, whose name is redacted, will later remember that Sirhan became incensed when talking about Jews, had a poor disposition to be a jockey and was recommended to be an exercise boy, and worked at the Los Angeles County Fair in Pomona as a hot walker after the racing season was over at Santa Anita.

1-1-66: Sirhan applies for a membership in the California Horse Racing Board. He receives a "Hot Walkers" license.

3-31-66: Sirhan quits working at the Santa Anita Racetrack.

4-7-66: Sirhan receives a library fine for $2.56.

Summer 1966: German national George Beilicke first meets Sirhan. He sees Sirhan regularly around Pasadena at Shap's bar and Denny's, hanging out with a group of Arabs. Beilicke has a conflict with Sirhan's friend Paul, who owes him $75 (which Paul borrowed in order to bet on horses at Santa Anita). Paul later threatens Beilicke with a knife when confronted about his debt.

5-28-66: According to the LAPD, at 7:30 PM Sirhan goes to his first meeting of the Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis at the society's Akhnaton Lodge in Pasadena, where he signs his name in the guest register. The AMORC is a society of mystics founded in 1915 by H. Spencer Lewis and headquartered in San Jose, California (also known as the Rosicrucian Order). According to Peter Levenda (*Sinister Forces Vol. 1*) the AMORC is an offshoot of the *Societas Rosicruciana In America*, itself an offshoot of

the British *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia*, with ties to the 19th century British occult lodge known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. These societies claim to have access to ancient occult sources of wisdom. At this meeting Sirhan participates in an “extra sensory perception” experiment in which he is blindfolded and told to identify objects simply by touching them. As Levenda describes, AMORC has a new style of recruiting members by mail, and is unique in its use of large magazine ads for correspondence courses on “mental telepathy, meditation, and eventually, magic.” There is no evidence that anyone introduced Sirhan to AMORC and it is safe to assume that he simply saw an advertisement for the society in a newspaper.

At first glance Sirhan’s membership to AMORC may seem innocuous but the experience of Pierre Freeman, author of *Prisoner of San Jose* and *AMORC Unmasked: The Hidden Mind Control Techniques of the Rosicrucian Order* gives rise to troubling implications about Sirhan’s transformation. Freeman goes into great detail describing his 24-year immersion in AMORC and implicates the group as a fraudulent cult that practices mind control on their often vulnerable members. Freeman outlines the many spiritual practices of AMORC, which Sirhan is undoubtedly practicing between May 1966 and the assassination in June 1968. It will be worth it to examine these practices and their intended or unintended effects on a practitioner who is eager to make spiritual progress.

To begin with, according to the AMORC Digest the Rosicrucians trace their wisdom teachings back to the mythical empire of Atlantis, through dynastic Egypt, the Essenes, the Delphic oracle, the Pythagorean school of classical Greece, through the Hermetic and Gnostic cults, Neoplatonism, Kabbalah, to Rosicrucianism itself, which began in 1614 with the publication of *Fama Fraternitatis*, *Confessio Fraternitatis*, and the *Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreuz*, which the society claims were probably written by a group of German scholars known as the “Tubingen circle.” The AMORC was officially established as an American branch of the international Rosicrucian Order in 1915 by H. Spencer Lewis, a passionate Rosicrucian who had been told in a mystical experience in 1908 to go to France to receive his initiation into the Rosicrucian Order.

So the question is, what kinds of materials would Sirhan be receiving as he began his spiritual journey? What would AMORC be doing to his mental

state at this time? According to Pierre Freeman, one exercise entitled “Section 37” involves the member imagining a future desired scenario in detail and then observing his face in a mirror under candlelight while imaging this scenario becoming fulfilled. Freeman claims that this exercise “involves the seeker attempting to control the universe and his personal destiny quite apart from communion with deity, which I now believe to be the end and purpose of existence.” A strange irony of Sirhan’s memory loss is the supposed importance of memory in AMORC teachings. Section 39 stresses the importance of subconscious memories of past lives, and states that we should prioritize the subconscious in our decision making. Members are encouraged to “submit” questions and problems prior to sleep in order to receive answers from the subconscious. Section 43 states that headaches other disorders of the head, including vision problems (which affected Sirhan after his injury) are often the result of psychological stress, fatigue or anxiety. AMORC provides exercises for the relief of these problems.

Section 46 provides a fascinating and pertinent protocol for dealing with pain from inflammation, wounds, blows, cuts, burns etc. This healing process involves hypnosis. According to Freeman, later medical studies substantiated the healing properties of hypnosis, but our concern is the effect of these teachings on Sirhan. The more we dive into the AMORC teachings the more eerie connections we will notice between these teachings and what eventually happened to Sirhan.

Section 53 involves “psychic projection,” or remote viewing, as it is sometimes called. The member goes into a state of meditation and attempts to visualize a scene that he would like to view, apparently anywhere in the world. He will not be able to interact with what is going on, obviously, but the AMORC teachings aim to convince members that they can do this. Section 55 teaches the member how to visualize his own aura in order to evolve spiritually and receive wisdom. Freeman claims that these exercises enforce mind control in several ways: they reinforce the idea that only the Rosicrucian Order is capable of giving you these extraordinary powers and encourage absolute obedience to their teachings; they use repetition, ritual and hypnotic triggers; they encourage members to visualize things that are not there, fostering a state of altered reality in which you do not quite know what is real.

Another exercise that seems pertinent is the repetition of sounds. We see the repetition of random words and phrases in Sirhan's hypnotic notebook writings as well. In AMORC the sounds to be repeated include MAR, RA, THA, MEH, and other meaningless sounds.

Section 77 involves a "Ninth Degree Oath" of allegiance that all members must pledge to AMORC. They involve obedience to the AMORC teachings, pledges of secrecy, responsibility, respect to AMORC leaders, and a pledge not to criticize or question AMORC teachings or the Order itself. As Freeman asks, "What if you find your personality and life undergoing profound changes for the worst (sic) and that you are trapped in a cycle of bondage, which you honestly believe is based on mind control?" These words will haunt us as we proceed to Sirhan's two-year downward spiral that begins with his employment at Burt Altfillisch's ranch in Norco. This was a time in which Sirhan's dreams of becoming a jockey slowly slipped away from him. Perhaps his lack of control drove him to AMORC teachings such as Section 83, which promises telekinesis. But Section 93 might be the most disturbing in light of later allegations that Sirhan was manipulated to kill Kennedy without his knowledge. This practice promises that "we can act in such a way that [another person] will think, speak, and act in accordance with our will, without even being aware of it." AMORC claims that "Initiates of the past have influenced emperors, kings, tribunals, and, generally speaking, personalities invested with certain political, military, religious, or other types of powers." The teachings advise the student to "Repeat this process several times, until you feel that you are within this person's body, directing all the physical and psychic functions." This is strangely what appears to have happened to Sirhan himself – he clearly never learned how to do this to another person. It is hard to learn all this about AMORC and not implicate them in Sirhan's final collapse.

It is also important to examine the instruction method AMORC would have used with a new member such as Sirhan. As the Rosicrucian Manual explicitly states, "the mere payment of the monthly dues, without giving any thought to the studies, without attempting to render service to others, and live the progressive, constructive life of a true Rosicrucian, WILL NOT CONSTITUTE GOOD STANDING IN THE ORDER." Members are therefore urged to report back to their lodge with regular reports of their progress, including examinations with feedback from Lodge Secretaries.

The manual is quite unequivocal about this. We have to wonder to what extent Sirhan was receiving personalized instruction in this manner - and if the manual is correct, he could not have lasted very long as a member without this instruction. We must remember that this was a correspondence course, and Sirhan could have pursued these studies while living in Norco. This was probably ideal for Sirhan, who was shy and self-conscious and not always able to go to regular AMORC meetings.

As the manual states, when a new member is accepted into AMORC they receive six weeks of private, personalized instruction from a Master. The member and the Master are in "intimate contact" through mail correspondence, and this involves lectures, discourses, instructions and so forth. At the end of the six weeks, of the new member's work is sufficient he is admitted to the First Grade of the Neophyte studies. In the First Grade there are twelve weeks of personalized, private lectures and lessons that are meant to communicate the esoteric teachings (Objective and Cosmic Consciousness, The Brain and Mind, Mystic Symbolism, Experiments in Developing Psychic Consciousness etc.) Again we have to wonder whether Sirhan received this intimate instruction, and if so, how it affected him. By all accounts he was a devoted practitioner of the AMORC teachings, and we must assume he took full advantage of the membership, especially since AMORC received a fair share of what little money he earned. The Rosicrucian system seems designed to enmesh the student in a deeply involving, mystical course of study with promises of ancient wisdom. Sirhan would have felt that he was learning the secrets of cosmic consciousness and that these esoteric practices would help him attain mastery of his life and the actions of others toward him. He would have felt that this course of study would surely bring him his dream of becoming a jockey, and winning at the track. So whatever the influence on Sirhan of Kennedy's support for Israel (which only would have affected Sirhan in spring of 1968 at the earliest), we cannot forget that from mid-1966 Sirhan was involved in a profoundly affecting and addictive cult that promised everything he ever wanted from life. Once we remember that he was also a gambling addict, spending much of his money at the horse races, we have a better understanding of the strange blend of desperation, mysticism, and trauma that was swirling around in his head from 1966 to 1968.

Dr. Bernard Diamond, who was a witness for Sirhan's defense, interviewed and hypnotized Sirhan multiple times in the beginning of 1969. Diamond diagnosed Sirhan with paranoid schizophrenia and believed that Sirhan had learned how to hypnotize himself without realizing it. He attested that Sirhan himself had blamed the AMORC teachings for his tendency to do this. In 1969 he told the *LA Times* that "Sirhan admitted under hypnosis that he was doing 'crazy writing,' said he was doing it for 'practice' in 'mind control.' Sirhan said he was hypnotized by 'the mirror, my mirror, my mirror,' when he wrote in his notebooks in his room, and said he was taught by 'AMORC.'" Diamond, accompanied by Dr. Seymour Pollack, hypnotized Sirhan and caused him to go into a violent rage in which he reenacted the murder and then forgot the entire event. Despite Diamond's claims, Sirhan never demonstrated to others how he was able to hypnotize himself. AMORC denied that they had had any contact with Sirhan other than his initial application; this must've been a lie, since there is evidence that he received instructional materials from them. But none of their teachings involve self-hypnosis - the entire goal is to master and control others, and to control oneself and one's own destiny. So it's hard to see how Sirhan could blame a correspondence course with AMORC for the strange ability to hypnotize himself unaided, which he never seemed to do after the assassination. And in three years of evaluation in 2008, Dr. Daniel Brown never found evidence of paranoid schizophrenia. So it seems that Diamond's testimony, on the contrary, demonstrates how easy it was for others to control and manipulate Sirhan ("Sirhan's Reenactment of Slaying Described," March 25, 1969).

6-2-66: Sirhan begins working as an exercise boy at Granja Vista Del Rio Ranch in Norco, owned by Burt Altfillisch. His salary is $250 per month. When Sirhan is hired at the Altfillisch ranch he sends his mother $10 and tells her to take care of his mail. The next day he comes home and takes his own mail, which includes a pamphlet from the Ancient Mystical Order of Rosae Crucis, During his residence in Norco Sirhan is possibly attending the Circle City Church (at Ninth and Sheridan in Corona), whose pastor is Reverend Leo Hill. According to LAPD interviews Sirhan meets fellow horse groomer Tom Rathke while working at this ranch. Rathke is a member of the Theosophical religion and the two discuss the differences between Theosophy and the AMORC.

Altfillisch's ranch is next door to the 45-acre Corona Breeding Farm, owned by Desi Arnaz. Sirhan writes in his notebook "I have secured a position as assistant to the manager of Corona Breeding Farm (Desi Arnaz's)" even though he will later testify in court that he never even applied to work there and was not interested in doing so. He writes "$600 per month" even though he has never earned that much in his life. This may be a technique Sirhan has learned from Rosicrucian literature – see entry for 5-68. According to the Rosicrucian theory, by writing down goals and envisioning what you want to happen, one can affect one's future. Perhaps making $600 a month working for a Hollywood celebrity was one of Sirhan's goals, but in the trial he has no recollection of writing this in his notebook. According to Arnaz's farm manager Charles Zoller, Arnaz raises horses at his ranch and sends them to the Altfillisch ranch to be trained, and Sirhan has never been employed by Arnaz. (Some theorists looking for Mafia connections to the assassination have claimed that Sirhan was employed by Arnaz, who was friends with mobster Mickey Cohen, who was heavily involved in running the ranch and had access to Sirhan. But there is no evidence to support this.)

The automatic writing clearly begins at the same time that Sirhan gets the job at Granja Vista del Rio and joins AMORC. Sirhan will later tell author Robert Blair Kaiser that he learned how to do his automatic writing through AMORC but that he is desperate not to blame them in any way for the assassination. There is little evidence of AMORC recommending the kinds of trance writing that Sirhan is doing, however.

According to coworkers Peggy Osterkamp and others, while working at the ranch Sirhan uses foul language, uses the phrase "Dirty Jews," treats the horses poorly, does not like living in Norco, and speaks admiringly of Napoleon and Hitler and other tyrannical leaders. Peggy Osterkamp's name and address appear in Sirhan's notebook, with the phrase "I love you" written over and over. At the trial he claims that he was interested in the pronunciation of her name, because in Arabic there is no "p" sound and the "g" is very different, but as for the phrase "I love you," he says "I don't know sir, I can't account for any of this." He writes "Peggy Sirhan" repeatedly. He writes the name and address of coworker Gwendoline Gum, along with the phrase "abuse abuse." At the trial he will not remember any of this writing. He was surely doing trance writing before the accident and

may have been under the influence of a programmer quite early. This programmer presumably would have been teaching him to write things that were in his subconscious, or doing the kinds of experiments we see in the MKULTRA files. The word “abuse,” as well as the testimony of many people who knew or met Sirhan, suggests that he felt that he was being abused and had an inferiority complex. These traits were badly exacerbated after the accident, but they were present beforehand. Of course if he were actually being abused in some kind psychological experimentation, this trance writing and his nervous behavior at his doctor appointments would be understandable.

Near Peggy Osterkamp’s name Sirhan writes “The Law of Mentalism.” This is from a 1908 book of occult teachings called the *Kybalion*, which contains “Seven Hermetic Principles.” The first law, the Law of Mentalism, states the following (from kybalion.org):

> This Principle embodies the truth that "All is Mind." It explains that THE ALL (which is the Substantial Reality underlying all the outward manifestations and appearances which we know under the terms of "The Material Universe"; the "Phenomena of Life"; "Matter"; "Energy"; and, in short, all that is apparent to our material senses) is SPIRIT, which in itself is UNKNOWABLE and UNDEFINABLE, but which may be considered and thought of as AN UNIVERSAL, INFINITE, LIVING MIND. It also explains that all the phenomenal world or universe is simply a Mental Creation of THE ALL, subject to the Laws of Created Things, and that the universe, as a whole, and in its parts or units, has its existence in the Mind of THE ALL, in which Mind we "live and move and have our being." This Principle, by establishing the Mental Nature of the Universe, easily explains all of the varied mental and psychic phenomena that occupy such a large portion of the public attention, and which, without such explanation, are non-understandable and defy scientific treatment. An understanding of this great hermetic Principle of Mentalism enables the individual to readily grasp the laws of the Mental Universe, and to apply the same to his well-being and advancement. The Hermetic Student is enabled to apply intelligently the great Mental Laws, instead of using them in a haphazard manner. With tire Master-Key in his possession, the student may unlock the many doors of the mental

> and psychic temple of knowledge, and enter the same freely and intelligently. This Principle explains the true nature of "Energy," "Power," and "Matter," and why and how all these are subordinate to the Mastery of Mind. One of the old Hermetic Masters wrote, long ages ago: "He who grasps the truth of the Mental Nature of the Universe is well advanced on The Path to Mastery." And these words are as true to-day as at the time they were first written. Without this Master-Key, Mastery is impossible, and the student knocks in vain at the many doors of The Temple.

Whatever the influence the Seven Hermetic Principles had on Sirhan, the important milestone to recognize is the following: Sirhan's automatic writing began when he arrived in Norco and got the job at Altfillisch's ranch. He later will have no conscious memory of much of this writing and cannot say how or why he began doing this writing. Importantly though, it corresponds with his membership with the AMORC and his obsession with their dubious teachings. According to his application to AMORC, he has been studying metaphysics and the occult for three years, so if he is telling the truth he has been steeped in these teachings since 1963, when he first enrolled at Pasadena City College.

Also near Peggy Osterkamp's name, in one of his notebooks, Sirhan seems to have transcribed a speech or memo from "Dr. R.H. Spencer Lewis," founder of AMORC in America. In this writing Lewis is defending AMORC's practice of requiring members to pay dues, since the society is not a church but an institution that like other schools needs payment for its classes.

Among his trance writing from this period, just underneath some of his "Peggy Osterkamp" scribblings, is the phrase "Sirhan Sirhan Must begin to work on the problems and difficulties of assassinating the 36th president of the glorious United States" (Lyndon Johnson). Elsewhere he writes "Ambassador Goldberg must die meet me at the airport." This could date from the time of the Six Day War in June of 1967; Goldberg was the United States Ambassador to the UN and drafted an agreement that did not obligate Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories they had captured. Lisa Pease hypothesizes that at this early stage, long before Kennedy has declared his candidacy for president, Sirhan is being trained for other possible

assassination attempts. The phrase “meet me at the airport” probably relates to a trip he was planning to visit Tom Rathke, mentioned below.

Also at this time Sirhan writes “Corona Breeding Farm” and “Please pay to the order of” repeatedly. He writes “Kenmore,” which is a street in mid-town Los Angeles that intersects with Western Avenue. He also writes “kelvinator,” a mid-century brand of home appliances. He writes “Today I must plan to drive home in a new car today I must plan to drive…home in a new new new Mustang.” Some of what he writes appears to be snatches of conversation (“Where do you usually hang around at Hollywood Park”) or statements he has heard on TV (“must be aware of her commitment to there allies”). He seems to be obsessed with money, writing the word “cash” repeatedly, writing “”Hello Tom perhaps you could use the enclosed $” repeatedly. The idea of a trip to Pleasanton is repeated, with the phrase “How will I contact you after I arrive at the airport” and “come up sometime Tuesday.” This is clearly regarding his friend Tom Rathke, who was working as a horse groom at Alameda County Fairgrounds in Pleasanton in northern California at the time of the assassination. It is not clear if this trip ever took place.

Strangely, Sirhan will write in his notebook “I believe that I can effect the death of Bert C. Altfillisch.” This is on a page that is covered with the phrase “Kennedy must fall,” meaning that a year and a half after Sirhan ends his job with Altifillisch, in Spring 1968, Sirhan is doing trance writing about killing his former boss. The other possibility, which is remote, is that Sirhan was planning to murder Kennedy in 1966, two years before he entered the presidential race.

For about six weeks in 1966 Sirhan lives at the Highlander Hotel at 1880 West 5th St in Norco with an alcoholic named Edward Van Antwerp. Sirhan sleeps on the couch in their one bedroom apartment. (Sirhan first meets Antwerp at the Merry Note Cafe in Norco.) Antwerp is an employee at the Thermal Chemurgy Company, on Helman Road in the nearby town of Eastvale. They both then move to a house at 2090 5th St. in Norco. According to Antwerp’s sister, Sirhan is a very close friend of Edward and takes care of him during his drunken periods. Sirhan is very determined to get Edward to stop drinking and takes him to several AA meetings. Sirhan seems polite at this time, and not particularly interested in politics. (On the day of Kennedy’s assassination Antwerp went missing after going to work

in the morning and his wife did not know where he was, presuming that he was on one of his drunks. He was located around December near Eureka, California when he sent a postcard to his sister Genevieve Taylor. The postcard revealed that he was living with Willard Chisholm in Hoopa, CA and that he didn't want anyone to know where he was.)

Both of Sirhan's living places at this time are within walking distance from the California Rehabilitation Center. Antwerp, later interviewed by the FBI, recalls Sirhan saying he wanted to "make it big and rich in the horse racing profession." Antwerp remembers Sirhan drinking "large quantities of tea."

At Granja del Rio Sirhan befriends horse trainer named Henry Ramistella, who is barred from working at the racetracks and also goes by the names Frank Rumma and Frank Donorama. In LAPD files there is a warrant issued to Ramistella from Corona Municipal Court for "failing to report weekends." He has been arrested for driving without a license for which he was sentenced three years probation. He has prior narcotics and petty larceny arrests in New York. He was denied a stable license in 1960 and later denied a license in New Jersey. He was suspended again 1966 while working at Santa Anita under the name Frank Donneraumma, when the association found out his real name. In Sept.1967 he bought a 1962 Lincoln Continental and eight months later had it repossessed for failing to make payments. When Sirhan knows him Ramistella is living with Bert Altfillisch and according to LAPD files it was Ramistella who actually hired Sirhan. Several months after hiring Sirhan Ramistella became a heavy drinker and was fired. At some point Sirhan wrote "Donarama" repeatedly in his notebook, along with his first name, Frank, and "please," and "pay to the order of Sirhan the amount of 5."

One coworker of Sirhan's at Granja del Rio, whose name is redacted in FBI files, remembered that Sirhan had a terrible anger problem and thought some of the horses were stupid. Sirhan would kick and punch the horses when he lost his temper. This individual remembered Sirhan as being knowledgeable about politics and gentlemanly in his behavior.

A gardener at the Granja del Rio later recalled that Sirhan lived in Corona with a married couple, and that the wife was a waitress at the Pancake House and the husband worked at a ranch.

6-23-66: Sirhan applies to be a member of the Rosicrucian Order (AMORC). The application requests applicants to “Kindly State Your Motive.” Under this section Sirhan writes “By reading your book Mastery of Life, I have discovered how much I do not know about myself despite all the philosophical works I have been reading. I sincerely want to better myself, and on that basis I submit my application.” On the application Sirhan states that he has been studying metaphysics, psychology and philosophy for three years.

6-26-66: Sirhan’s salary is raised from $250 to $275 per month.

7-31-66: Sirhan’s salary is raised to $300 per month.

8-21-66: Sirhan’s salary is raised to $350/month.

9-18-66: Sirhan’s salary is raised to $375/month.

1966: J.C. King, former CIA agent, forms the Amazon Natural Drug Company, which provides South American pharmaceuticals to the CIA for mind-altering purposes. These are used on human subjects in CIA experiments.

9-25-66: In a catastrophic, life-changing accident, Sirhan falls from a horse at the Altfillisch farm and is taken to Corona Community Hospital. According to horse owner Millard Sheets, it is a foggy morning and there are two horses riding on the track when Sirhan crashes into a fence. Sheets claims to be the first person to reach Sirhan after the fall. According to Milton Holmes, Sheets’s horse Bug Bomb is being worked out by Sirhan and the crash occurs just after Sirhan crosses the finish line at the track, when he enters a thick fog bank. Since Sirhan is not moving, Holmes runs to call the ambulance while Sheets runs to Sirhan. Holmes remembers that Sirhan has blood in his ear when the ambulance arrives. (Regarding the fall, ranch employee Larry Heinemann claims that he and not Millard Sheets arrived first to help Sirhan first after his fall. Heinemann places Sirhan’s return to work at a week after the fall. According to assistant manager Forest Younger, after the fall Larry Heinemann came to ask him to call an ambulance for Sirhan.)

On the way to the hospital Larry Heinemann rides in the ambulance with Sirhan, and Younger follows in his truck. When they arrive at the hospital in

Corona Sirhan appears very excitable and scared. The doctor asks Sirhan to take off his clothes for an exam and Sirhan refuses. Younger and Heinemann have to take Sirhan into another room and at length they succeed in removing his clothes. The doctor then tries to give Sirhan an injection and Sirhan refuses. According to Younger, Sirhan returns to work two weeks later when the doctor allows him to return.

At Corona Community Hospital Nurse Patricia Kramer tends to Sirhan. He is not badly injured and she gives him some prescribed medication. She notices he is “a little scraped up.” Dr. Paul Deeb, radiologist, examines Sirhan’s x-rays and decides Sirhan has not received a concussion. Nurse William White tends to Sirhan and notices that Sirhan’s main source of pain is his eyes, and that they are full of dirt and sand. There is blood on his face but nowhere else. White cleans Sirhan’s eyes and face. He notices that with considerable coaxing Sirhan’s friends convince him to allow a tetanus shot to be administered.

What is notable is 1) how scared, confused and haunted Sirhan appears to be according to those who treat him after the fall, and 2) how "everything went blank" when he fell, as we see below.

According to an interview with Sirhan on 8-15-67 (this is a very interesting interview since it is the only known interview of Sirhan from before the assassination): “The morning of the said date I breezing a filly [sic]. In other words I was asking her to run as far as she could. I was riding the horse. It was a very foggy morning that day. A few seconds after I had started the filly I was down. She threw me. I don’t know how I fell, when everything went blank. The people who were watching me couldn’t see what happened due to the fog. I was taken by ambulance to the hospital, Corona Community Hospital. I was treated by Dr. Richard Nelson. He had applied some stitches to what he claimed excessive bleeding. He applied about 3 to the lower right side of my chin, and I don’t know how many in the left eye. They took a series of x-rays and at that time I was not fully conscious. I started to come to, when I felt the coldness of the platform or table they had put me on. I realized something was wrong with my eyes at the moment I started to come to. When he started to insert the stitching needle in my eye and I more or less was much against that. I didn’t like the stitch to be put there. He insisted that it was necessary. I didn’t know the gravity of the wound, but I thought it wasn’t necessary to be stitched. I

couldn’t see myself and he just told me it was necessary. He wanted to keep me in the hospital for a week but I didn’t like the idea. I did stay overnight.”

He remembers many details about his treatment, but not the fall itself, and he will not remember any of the writing he is doing at this time.

Sirhan later says that he lost consciousness during the fall and regained consciousness in Corona Community Hospital while his wounds were being sutured. According to Altfillisch, Sirhan had tried to organize the other exercise boys to “work a certain number of hours per day and to do only exercise boy work.” Dr. Richard Nelson, who treats Sirhan, tells FBI that he recalls Sirhan “as a person who appeared ‘as though he was afraid someone was going to do him harm and he was very nervous and apprehensive about any treatment being given to him. ’He would not stay in the hospital but one day although the doctor recommended four days. He returned to work and his injuries were only of a laceration type and were not serious. He later complained to (redacted) referred him to (redacted).”

The Argonaut Insurance Company’s 146-page file on Sirhan is redacted in FBI files.

Dr. Daniel Brown, after interviewing Sirhan and his family and friends, and reviewing hospital records (in 2008), will later conclude that Sirhan went missing for two weeks after the fall from the horse, and that Sirhan was taken to an unidentified hospital and that his personality change resulted from whatever was done to him there, and not from any head injury. Other doctors ’testimonies and the EEG indicate that Sirhan had no brain injury from the fall. Brown believes the fall was staged and drug-induced. Dr. Brown claims that Sirhan remembered a “prison-like hospital where he drifted in and out of consciousness for two weeks.” Although there are some accounts that he did not return to work for two weeks, there are other witnesses who claim they saw Sirhan both at work and elsewhere between 9-25 and 10-10. This two weeks of missing time may refer to the period from 11-16 to 12-2, when Sirhan went to work at the Del Mar racetrack before returning to the Altfillisch ranch to work. Sirhan’s time is accounted for, though, and it is hard to find a time when he was missing for two weeks, unless it is after he quit his job in Corona on 12-10.

Sirhan’s extreme nervousness at the hospital, after a fall that did not injure his brain at all, may be a sign of some kind of post traumatic stress

stemming from his childhood. But it is the first sign of the anxiety, anger, frustration and depression that would dominate his personality hereafter. (Sirhan's many subsequent horse-riding accidents after this event show that his motor skills declined as well as his mental health.) The fact that he had an emotional breakdown so soon after the accident shows that perhaps the "change" had already begun to happen to him, and this change in Sirhan may have been the cause of the fall in the first place.

Was Sirhan exposed to an individual or group who had already begun to influence him? The fact that Sirhan's alcoholic roommate Edward Van Antwerp disappeared so suddenly on the day of RFK's assassination, and then begged his sister not to tell anyone his whereabouts, is cause for speculation. Did the two of them, ideal candidates for MKULTRA or MKSEARCH-style experiments, become test subjects together? Both of these men were very poor and could easily have been persuaded to take part in something of this nature for some extra cash. At one of the AA meetings Sirhan went to with Antwerp, could there have been a recruiter? An AA meeting would be a good place to pick up people for specific experiments involving people with vulnerable, addictive personalities. Was the California Rehabilitation Center involved? There is no evidence of any MKULTRA projects taking place there, but it would be the perfect place for such experiments. The inmate riot that destroyed many of the facilities in 1968 does not give us confidence that all was well at the facility. There is also no evidence of any CIA projects taking place at the Corona Community Hospital, but we must remember the vast majority of MKULTRA documents were destroyed in 1973.

Or could the petty thief Henry Ramistella have gotten Sirhan involved in an MKULTRA-style program? Could he have been a federal informant? We know very little about Ramistella or Antwerp so it is hard to answer these questions. Antwerp seems to have completely disappeared after the FBI interviewed him in 1969, vanishing into the small towns of the northern coast. Did he know something that he shouldn't have known about Sirhan and his programming? On the morning of the assassination did he know what Sirhan was going to do? Was he trying to avoid the authorities?

Of course, Robert Kennedy will not announce his candidacy until March 16, 1968, so it will be impossible for anyone to program Sirhan to kill him until that time. Could Sirhan have been simply a test subject for almost two

years before someone decided that he would be the perfect Manchurian Candidate? It would be best to use someone who is already proven to be programmable, so this scenario actually makes some sense.

Much has been made of RFK's aggressive stance toward organized crime, and the Mafia's motives to kill him. But there is no evidence that the Mafia had any contact with Sirhan, and they certainly did not have the "programming" capabilities of the CIA, who had been developing these capabilities since 1952 at the latest.

According to Sirhan's mother and his friend and coworker, fellow exercise boy Terry Welch, Sirhan went missing for two weeks after the fall from the horse. According to Terry Welch's statement to the FBI, he was Sirhan's closest friend during his time in Norco. Before the accident Sirhan was well-mannered, thrifty, neat, clean, intelligent, generous to his friends, and frugal, saving his checks for weeks before cashing them. Sirhan went to the bars with his friends although he didn't drink. After the fall Sirhan became a "loner." Before the fall Sirhan often visited other farms during his off hours, and was curious and able to discuss many different subjects. Sirhan later describes his horse riding experience to NBC News: "I loved it. That was the most enjoyable experience of my life – (inaudible) horses."

According to Welch, after the fall Sirhan "went out of his mind…something was praying on his mind." Welch's characterization of Sirhan's relationship with Altfillisch is much better than any other account - Welch claims that Altfillisch offered Sirhan an administrative job at the farm because he was so impressed with him. Welch also claims that Sirhan was well known by TV personalities Buddy Ebsen, Desi Arnaz, and Dale Robertsen, all of whom took their horses to the Altfillisch ranch to be trained.

According to Henry Ramistella Sirhan did not complain of any health problems after his fall. Ramistella apparently observes Sirhan for "some time" following the accident and finds his behavior no different from before. He echoes the claim that Sirhan was released from the hospital the day after the fall. Ramistella remembers Sirhan having an argument with two Hungarians at this time, and that they were all talking in a different language and seemed to be arguing about politics and communism.

One of the employees for one of the doctors visited by Sirhan after his fall (names redacted) states that Sirhan is extremely nervous when visiting the

doctor, as if he feels that he is being picked on most of the time, and is self-conscious about his small physique.

Some researchers have named William Joseph Bryan as a potential culprit in Sirhan's programming. He was indeed a physician who founded the American Institute of Hypnosis at 8295 Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles, and published the Journal of the American Institute of Hypnosis which published scholarly articles on hypnosis. He worked for the CIA's Project Artichoke and MKULTRA programs. The July, 1961 edition of his journal features an article by Louis K. Boswell, Jr., called "Induction of Hypnosis During the Initial Physical Examination." Boswell describes the rationale for hypnotizing a nervous or anxious patient, and claims that hypnosis can aid in the diagnosis of a patient.

Boswell writes:

"As will be shown, all the elements for induction of hypnosis are available within the framework of the physical examination. During the initial interview important emotional sets are made obvious and physical signs and symptoms are elucidated. These emotional sets, as well as physical signs and symptoms, provide a ready basis for induction. Patient resistance to the induction of hypnosis is thereby removed — the induction becomes a natural part of the examination. Most important, the use of the physical stimuli of the initial examination removes the anxiety from the physician’s mind for hypnotic induction since all the tools necessary for adequate induction are available within the framework of this initial examination."

So according to the hypnosis experts, the nervous Sirhan could've been hypnotized at any one of his many doctor's visits over the next eighteen months.

Bryan was a well-known figure who publicly advocated for the use of hypnosis in the medical field for years. In April of 1969 the State Board of Medical Examiners found him guilty of molesting four of his female patients and placed him on probation for five years (*LA Times* April 22, 1969).

9-26-66: Larry Heinemann picks Sirhan up at the hospital and takes him to his home at 5th St. in Norco. On the way Sirhan wants to know what happened during the fall. Heinemann explains how and why Sirhan fell.

Sirhan has no complaints except that he is sore. (Sirhan’s amnesia may be a sign that the accident was hypnotically induced, with the goal being a big financial payout; he was already doing trance writings in a completely hypnotized state at this time. There is evidence that Sirhan was unhappy with Altfillisch’s treatment of the exercise boys and he could’ve been convinced under hypnosis to fake an accident to get the insurance money. His exposure to multiple doctors for the next year would then provide more opportunities to give him drugs and do further experimentation.)

According to Mary Sirhan’s FBI statement Sirhan was hospitalized for six days after his accident and she was not aware of the accident until after he returned home to Pasadena. She must have based the six-day hospitalization on what Sirhan told her of the event; it couldn’t have come from anyone else.

Dr. Richard Nelson, who treats Sirhan, finds Sirhan's attitude "suspicious" and observes that Sirhan strongly objected to his intravenous injection. According to him, Sirhan demands to leave the hospital on the 26th, so he is released at 1:30 PM.

9-28-66: Robert Wheeler begins work at the Altfillisch ranch and meets Sirhan. He claims that Sirhan is not allowed to ride the horses for 3 or 4 days after his fall and then is allowed to ride again. Millard Sheets and Milton Holmes claim to see Sirhan at the track around two or three days after the fall.

9-29-66: Sirhan is seen by. Dr. Nelson at Corona Community Hospital again. According to the notes of Dr. E. Gordon Kiehn: “This is five days following an injury for falling off of a horse described very adequately on the yellow sheet, Corona Community Hospital Room (Emergency). He was admitted, given a hospital work up. The lacerations sutured and kept over night. Patient has done quite well, he is in the office today. His wounds have healed and sutures are removed from the chin incision. He has multiple contusions which are healing and make him quite uncomfortable. He should not work for another week after we see him.”

10-1-66: According to Laura Kraus, secretary at Granja del Rio, Sirhan returns to work on this day, six days after his fall.

10-6-66: Sirhan returns to Dr. Nelson at the Corona Community Hospital to have stitches removed. Doctor's notes: "Patient is now eleven days following an injury from a horse back riding injury. His chin laceration is all healed and it will leave a minimal scar…Patient is fully active and is advised to do light work for another ten days before he should resume riding. Return if he is not completely well on one month."

10-8-66: Two days after he is told not to ride a horse for the next ten days, Sirhan falls off a horse at Granja del Rio. He is treated by John Schlepper at the Corona Community Hospital and his wounds are minor aside from his eye wound reopening. Sirhan is apparently working daily at the ranch from this point onward.

10-26-66: Sirhan sees Dr. Nelson once more.

October '66: A paper called "Hypnosis in Intelligence" is produced for the intelligence community, since declassified under the Freedom of Information Act. Subjects include Inducing Trance, Posthypnotic Suggestion, Self-hypnosis and Autosuggestion, Autogenic Training (a form of auto-relaxation), Hypnotizability, Hypnosis as an Operational Aid (hypnotizing an enemy combatant), The Resistant Subject, Control of Behavior in Trance (this section discusses experimental cases in which subjects have been induced to commit anti-social acts), Accuracy of Recall in Hypnosis, and other subjects. The paper finds much evidence that a Manchurian Candidate situation is feasible but all the evidence is in laboratory conditions and not in the real world.

Fall 1966: According to the SUS Final Report, at sometime in the fall of '66 Sirhan is seen at the house of Omar Ramzi in Los Angeles, with a group of Arab students who are supporters of the pro-Jordan, pro-Syrian Bath Party and discuss issues in the Middle East. Among other people seen at Ramzi's house is Faizullah Khan. At one meeting Sirhan becomes angry while discussing how unfair and undemocratic the American system of government can be when controlled by the wrong people. This group of people is also known to frequent Garfano's Tavern on East Valley Boulevard in Los Angeles. According to the LAPD, Omar Ramzi also went by the name of Faz'l Inayat'khan, and he "knew Sirhan socially, attended political discussion with him." However in other documents Inayat'khan

and Ramzi are described as separate people. Faizullah Khan claims that he "Knew Sirhan but not well."

In the FBI's Los Angeles Field Office files, Faizullah Khan believes that Ramzi was an officer in the Organization of Arab Students. Khan also remembers seeing Sirhan at events at California State College, now Cal State LA, which would've been very close to Garfano's Tavern. These events were small talks given by professors. We now have Sirhan connected to a CIA-sponsored student organization, at the home of one of its members. However, in the SUS Final Report the LAPD claims that Sirhan was not affiliated with any organizations and they don't interview Omar Ramzi.

In FBI files, Faz'l Inayat'khan corroborates the fact that Sirhan went to meetings at Ramzi's house, and claims that "it was his understanding that Khan was [redacted] and it was his further understanding that Khan's brother was [redacted]." Were Faizullah Khan and his mysterious brother known to be informants? And who was Omar Ramzi?

Inayat'khan remembers Sirhan as a very immature and impressionable person, which should come as no surprise to us. But how did he know that, and what does it mean in the context of this group of Arabs who met at Ramzi's house? Was Sirhan easily convinced to believe or do certain things by this group of older and more experienced people?

Interestingly, Inayat'khan remembers a meeting for the "Arab Students Association" at an Armenian church in Los Angeles in late '66 or early '67, which about 200 students attended, presumably including Sirhan. This shows that the OAS, which is probably what he is referring to, had a large and active following at the major universities in Los Angeles.

11-8-66: Sirhan sees Dr. Nelson one final time. He complains of vision problems and is referred to Dr. Paul Nilsson, an ophthalmologist

11-8-66: Sirhan visits Dr. Milton Miller in Corona, who “noted in his own records that he believed Sirhan was a (redacted).” Miller will not write a letter showing Sirhan’s injuries to be serious. He finds Sirhan’s vision to be 20/20. One large redacted page regarding this treatment in FBI files. Fourteen pages of hospital records are redacted as well. One report indicates that Sirhan is referred to (long redacted page).

11-10-66: (approximate): Sirhan's eye wound worsens as the edge of the wound becomes separated from the wound itself. Sirhan does not notice his eye injury until he returns to work and begins to exercise horses again.

11-13-66: Sirhan quits his job at the Altfillisch ranch at his own volition.

11-16-66: Sirhan goes to work for Robert Wheeler Sr. at the Del Mar racetrack, working as a freelance exercise boy. He is supervised by Larry Peters, the foreman, who notices that Sirhan has no skill as a horse rider. At one point Robert Wheeler sees Sirhan kicking a horse in the belly, claiming that the horse provoked him.

11-22-66: Sirhan visits Dr. Miller in Corona again.

11-25-66: Sirhan falls from a horse while working for the Wheelers at Del Mar.

11-30-66: Larry Peters fires Sirhan from the Wheelers 'employment, telling him that he can't qualify as a rider. He has worked steadily since the 26th.

12-2-66: Sirhan returns to work at the Altfillisch ranch.

12-10-66 or 12-12-66: Sirhan either quits or is laid off from the Granja Vista del Rio Ranch because of "apparent dissatisfaction with job." Altfillisch believes Sirhan is too timid with the horses to be a good jockey.

In December Sirhan probably moves back to Pasadena, and will live there at his mother's house until the assassination. According to his brother Adel, after the accident Sirhan becomes more nervous and talks to himself while alone in his room. At this time Sirhan is reading Ghandi. He loses ambition and frequently becomes angry when he sees pro-Israeli news on TV. He lights candles in his room and does Rosicrucian experiments, facing the mirror. These experiments seem to be on telekinesis.

If Dr. Brown is correct about Sirhan's two weeks of missing time after the accident, it may have happened in December or January. We should remember, Brown is using Sirhan's clouded memory as a guide, and perhaps the two weeks of drug-induced testing in a strange hospital didn't occur immediately after the fall. Of course in the trial no one thought to ask Sirhan or his friends and family where he was during the winter of 1966-7, because there was no reason to.

12-20-66: Sirhan visits Dr. Miller in Corona for the final time. Sirhan calls Dr. Miller later and says that if he does not write him a letter expanding his injuries “I will get you.” Miller never sees or hears from Sirhan again. Doctor’s bills state that on this date Sirhan “Stopped treatment without orders.”

Late December ‘66: Sirhan sees his acquaintance, Robert Prestwood, a race horse owner, at the Santa Anita track. Sirhan has been the exercise boy for one of Prestwood’s horses, Jet Spec, at the Altfillisch ranch. He tells Prestwood that he will quit racing because of his accident and that he has no hope of becoming a jockey anymore. Prestwood does not notice any change in Sirhan.

January 1967: It is unclear what Sirhan is doing during this month.

Early February 1967: Sirhan goes to Caliente Racetrack in Tijuana with Robert Prestwood’s wife Constance, to watch the Prestwoods ’horse Jet Spec perform in a race.

Feb.-April 1967: Sirhan sees a doctor twice a month whose name is redacted in FBI files. He then does not see this doctor for another six months. In the meantime he sees another doctor whose name is redacted. The doctor who originally saw him in Feb.-April believes Sirhan is not a stable person and can easily be influenced by others. This shows that Sirhan’s mental health has already declined by early 1967. In the trial the prosecution argued that Sirhan subconsciously caused his own mental decline, and programmed himself to kill Kennedy without realizing it. Dr. Brown’s findings in 2008 show that this would have been impossible given that Sirhan has never had dissociative disorder or paranoid schizophrenia.

March 1967: The Prestwoods call Sirhan to ask if he wants to go with them to see their horse race at Golden Gate in San Francisco. Sirhan is out of town and later he tells Mrs. Prestwood that he was in San Francisco at that time.

3-9-67: Sirhan meets with Dr. E. Gordon Kiehn in Pasadena. Billing records indicate that the patient is still in treatment.

3-23-67: Sirhan meets with Dr. Kiehn again.

4-3-67: Dr. Kiehn examines Sirhan and finds that he is not disabled, contrary to his Worker's Compensation claim.

4-6-67: Sirhan meets with Dr. Kiehn in Pasadena.

Spring 1967: Patricia Strathmann, whose husband John is friends with Sirhan, states that around this time they are seeing Sirhan frequently while they are living on Maple Street near the Sirhan residence. Sirhan has lost his interest in things that used to make him happy, and he seems dejected. This is when he gets involved in mysticism. According to Patricia the fall from the horse is "a culmination of all sorts of frustration for him because he said he couldn't be a jockey because of his eyes." She says that Sirhan is talking about mysticism a lot, and doing little experiments where he is "transferring thought and trying to control peoples 'actions through his mind towards theirs…" Sirhan claims that he has succeeded in making his mother get up to go to the bathroom late one night. Sirhan seems very angry about the Arab-Israel situation at this time. Her husband and Sirhan at this time are both very interested in languages and Sirhan is attempting to teach him Arabic. According to Patricia Sirhan is generous, nice, and very intense. He seems quite intelligent and aware of world affairs. According to John Strathmann, Sirhan is studying the occult and "mystical bodies" with a man named Paul whom Strathmann never meets. It is not evident if this Paul is the same Arab friend of Sirhan's who owed George Beilicke $75 and threatened him with a knife in the summer of 1966 (Melanson).

During Sirhan's obsession with mysticism and the occult he obtains books about the subject: "Thought Control and Its Power and Culture" by Annie Besant; "Meditations on the Occult Life" by G. Hodson; "Your Invisible Power" by Genavieve Behrend; "The Masters of the Path" by C.W. Leadbeater (purchased in March '67); "The Creative Process and the Individual" by Thomas Troward; "The Integrity of Personality" by Anthony Thomas Storr; "The Law of Mentalism" by A. Victor Stegno (in which he writes his name four times and has no memory of it at the trial); "Isis Unveiled" by Madame Blavatsky (Sirhan reads the first volume).

5-67: Terry Welch, Sirhan's closest friend and coworker at the Altfillisch ranch, loses touch with Sirhan.

6-2-67: According to Sirhan's trial testimony, on this date he writes a lengthy diatribe in his notebook in which he claims he will begin World

War 3 as soon as he is given $2000 and can acquire firearms. The victims will be “The president, vice, etc., down the ladder.” He wishes to “seek revenge for all the inhuman treatments committed against me by the American people.” He doesn’t remember writing any of it and claims that “I must have been a maniac at the time.” He says “I must have been provoked to the point…where I would have blasted anybody.”

Here we see more evidence that if Sirhan was being programmed, it began long before Kennedy’s campaign for president and that the original purpose of his programming was not to assassinate RFK. His programming would have been a project to induce automatic writing, self-sabotaging actions, trance states and enforced amnesia, and his auditors would have noticed the amazing success they were having with him. When the need to prevent RFK from becoming president arose, there would have been no better candidate for the job; the programmers would have had a two-year record of success with Sirhan if his trance writings from the summer of 1966 are any indication. Keep in mind that the MKULTRA program was studying precisely how to turn someone like Sirhan into an assassin as early as 1952. There would have been *at least* 14 years of research behind this project (not counting psychological research from other countries or institutions unrelated to the CIA, which would have only benefited this kind of research). Dr. Brown, after three years of observation of Sirhan, stated emphatically that Sirhan was not capable of programming himself.

June 5-10, 1967- During the Six Day War Sirhan apparently writes in his notebook “Ambassador Goldberg must die.” This refers to a speech by Arthur Goldberg, US ambassador to the UN. Sirhan remembers clearly that Goldberg and President Johnson were on the side of Israel, and that this upset him. Here, a year before the RFK assassination, Sirhan is desiring the deaths of people who support Israel. Of course, it is not clear that Sirhan actually wrote this at the time of the Six Day War – it may have been written much later to establish evidence of his madness.

Later Sirhan tells NBC News: “Sir, it’s not so much the experiences that I really remember, it’s the injustice, sir, of the whole Palestinian Arab people, what they have been faced with for the past twenty years is what moved me, and whatever scars I think that I had sir, when – during my childhood, I think that they would have been erased or somehow healed during my life in this country. But after that – during the – the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, sir, is

when they were reopened again – and my own circumstances in this country did not help me to forget them – they helped to – I started regressing to thinking about what happened to me and what is going to happen to the present refugees that were evicted from their homes in – during – during the 1967 war…" He tells his interviewer that this war soured his experience in America, which had otherwise been a happy one. He complains that much of the American media is run by Jewish Americans who are sympathetic to Israel and control the narrative of the conflict.

The problem with blaming the assassination and Sirhan's memory loss on post-traumatic stress relating to the Six Day war is obviously that the assassination occurred a year after the war, and that Kennedy had no tangible connection to the events, and there was no reason to blame him or connect him with the Israeli violence that reopened Sirhan's old psychological wounds.

6-67: Sirhan tells his friend Tom Rathke that he is no longer associated with the Rosicrucian Order, and that they terminated him because he did not pay dues. Sirhan seems upset about this. He gives Rathke a pamphlet about meditation. Rathke notices a big change in Sirhan's personality since the horse accident – Sirhan had been a jovial person but is now quite serious. While visiting the Sirhan house, Tom Rathke talks to Sirhan's mother, who tells him "I just can't talk to that boy anymore," referring to Sirhan. Rathke and Sirhan share an interest in mysticism; Rathke is a minister in the United Spiritual Christian Church in Oakland and the two discuss Theosophy and Rosicrucianism.

June 1967: This is the last time Sirhan's acquaintance, Pasadena City College student Craig Bless sees him. Bless has known Sirhan since around 1963 and has played pool with him regularly near the school.

7-3-67: Argonaut Insurance Company computes Sirhan's Workmen's Compensation amount at $2170.

7-24-67: Sirhan applies for a job through Pasadena City College, at the Distributive Education and Placement Service. He has complained at the President's office about being denied a job application. There are complications with the types of jobs he can have because of his Visa status. He is interested in working at Safeway, but is ineligible because of his height and weight and his lack of a 4-year degree. He explains that he was a

jockey but his injury prevents him from continuing that work. He asks to have his information card from the woman helping him, and when she give it to him he rips it to shreds and throws it into the trash, saying “This will teach you to underestimate a jockey.”

August 67- Sirhan attempts to register for classes at Pasadena City College but does not complete an application and causes a disturbance.

8-15-67: Sirhan is examined by Dr. Albert Tashma, who states that “As a result of the above reported injury this patient did not sustain a permanent disability involving his eyes.”

9-6-67: Sirhan is examined by Dr. Robert E. Lewis and Dr. Forrest L. Johnston. Both doctors find him to be in good health. Lewis’s report states that Sirhan’s bone structure in his skull and back is normal and there has been no erosion.

According to Dr. Johnson’s statement: “The patient reports that he was unconscious at the time of his injury, although the medical reports that I had available for review did not verify this. At any rate, I found no evidence of a neurological problem at this time. The patient reports discomfort in the region of the facial scars. I believe there is a significant functional overlay that tends to magnify these complaints. The patient reportedly sustained a contusion of his back at the time of his injury and currently has complaints of pain in his low back. Arrangements were made for lumbar spine films, and I have asked the patent to return in about one month for re-examination. I believe the patient should be seen again by Dr. Kiehn for his re-evaluation relative to the scars and the complaints involving the left eye. I believe the patient is capable of returning to work as a stable boy at this time.” Sirhan describes waves of pain around his left eye.

9-17-67: Sirhan begins working at a health food store in Pasadena owned by John Weidner and his wife. This is a store the Sirhans have been patronizing since 1964. In September Mary Sirhan asks Weidner and his wife if they will hire Sirhan. Weidner needs help on the weekends so he hires Sirhan part time. Sirhan tells the Weidners that Israel has taken his home, the rich dominate the poor in America, and that Negroes in America could only achieve their goals through violence. He is angry about US support for Israel. He tells Weidner that there is more freedom in China and Russia than in the US. Weidner asks Sirhan why he doesn’t go to those

places, and Sirhan says that maybe one day he will. Sirhan is known as “Saul” by other employees.

Weidner later recalls that “[Sirhan] was a man with principles. He didn’t smoke. He didn’t drink. He always said he didn’t lie. He often mentioned seeing people of his race being killed by Israelis. He was resentful of the U.S.’s policy because he was a refugee, and he talked about President Kennedy helping other refugees so much, but nothing for the Jordanians” (*Time Magazine* 6-14-68).

Sirhan writes the following in his notebook: We the undersigned we present at the time when John Weidner came to our home seeking to hire Sirhan Sirhan to work in the real food store. After Sirhan Sirhan accepted the offer of employment, John Weidner proceeded to set conditions and rules of employment – one of these conditions was, and we remember it vividly: should Sirhan quit his job he should give a two week notice of his intention to Mr. Weidner. And should Mr. Weidner decide to fire Sirhan at any time he will give him an extra two week pay and dismiss him.”

According to the *LA Times* (Jan. 5, 1969), around the time that Sirhan works for the Weidners he corresponds with a "mystically inclined man in Napa" who remains unknown, and that this man will confide to his theosophist friends after the assassination that "the tone of Sirhan's letters had caused him to be fearful months before that Sirhan's mental health was perhaps endangered as a result of uninformed dabbling with mystical concepts."

10-9-67: Sirhan visits Dr. Forrest Johnson and complains that his lower back hurts, and that the pain in his left eye gets worse with cold weather. He says “that he has not been working and his symptoms are essentially the same.” He does not make an appointment to return. Dr. Johnson is named as an employee of the U.S. Public Health Service's cancer control program in San Francisco in an *LA Times* article from Feb. 18, 1969. As the New York Times reported in 1977, "For 11 years, [the CIA] tested mind-altering drugs, mainly LSD, on prisoners at the United States Public Health Service hospital in Lexington, Ky. The money was channeled through the Office of Naval Research, and the project ostensibly was seeking a substitute for codeine as a mild pain killer" ("Private Institutions Used in CIA Effort to Control Behavior, Aug. 2, 1977).

10-10-67: Sirhan tells Dr. Maurice Nugent that he is unsure what he collided with in his accident, but it might have been a fence. He states that he lost consciousness during the accident and woke up as his face was being sutured in the hospital. Nugent finds no defect to Sirhan's eye. A search through *LA Times* archives from the era reveals that Dr. Nugent was an eminent member of LA's high-society scene.

November 1967: Sirhan is allegedly seen at the house of a PCC professor named Kim Naffa, where he speaks with "quiet desperation" about how his father's homeland was stolen by the Zionists. Naffa's letter to the editor of the *LA Times* from December 28, 1968, expresses opinions that are severely critical of Israel's Six Day War and the U.S.'s policy towards Israel.

11-6-67: Dr. Leonard Yamshon examines Sirhan and concludes that his injuries are permanent and stationary. Sirhan tells Yamshon that he was missing from work for two weeks after his accident (according to Yamshon's report).

11-7-67: Sirhan applies to work at the Burroughs Corporation in Pasadena.

11-10-67: Sirhan is hired as an exercise boy at the Santa Anita racetrack. He appears to have a superiority complex and seems to "be in a fog most of the time." He rides 66 horses, at a salary of $2.00 per horse.

11-25-67: Sirhan is thrown from the saddle at Santa Anita while exercising a horse. He is shaken but comes to work the next day.

11-27-67: Sirhan begins working full time at the Weidners 'grocery store.

11-30-67: Sirhan is laid off from his job at Santa Anita.

12-20-67: Dr. Martin Albori examines Sirhan and finds no evidence of serious injuries, although he notices that Sirhan has flat feet.

1-1-68: A riot breaks out at the California Rehabilitation Center in Norco, down the street from where Sirhan lived during and after the horse riding accident. In this riot 250 inmates set fire to three buildings, causing $250,000 worth of damage for two hours. Officials blame the tension from the impending transfer of inmates to a Tehachapi facility due to overcrowding. Also blamed is the depression resulting from the holidays. The riot breaks out during an unauthorized New Year's Eve celebration in dormitory 33 (Los Angeles *Times*, 1-3-68).

1-9-68: According to Philip Melanson's *The Robert F. Kennedy Assassination*, The *NY Times* publishes an article about President Johnson's support for selling weapons and fighter planes to Israel. In the same issue another article will refer to Senator Kennedy's specific promise to sell 50 Phantom jets to Israel. Later this will be the prime motive given to Sirhan for the murder, and Sirhan will repeat this narrative in subsequent interviews. However there is no evidence from before the assassination that Sirhan was angered by the promise of 50 Phantom jets. Even his notebook, which only refers to assassinating Kennedy on two of the 48 pages, does not mention Israel in connection with Kennedy, and Sirhan never told anybody during this time that he was angry at Senator Kennedy for supporting Israel. This motive was created after the assassination and reinforced by prosecution psychiatrist Seymour Pollack and others; Sirhan dutifully repeated what he had been told to say, and as Melanson claims, much of this has to do with the politics of parole and Sirhan's eagerness to appear repentant.

1-25-68: An investigator for the Argonaut Insurance company knocks on the front door of the Sirhan's house at 1:30 PM. Mary Sirhan tells the investigator that Sirhan is not home. She says that Sirhan is working but his hours are irregular, and that he had tried to go back to work as an exercise boy but had no luck because of his lack of seniority. The investigator stakes out the house but as of 4:30 Sirhan has not returned.

1-26-68, 9:50 AM: Argonaut Insurance surveillance photos indicate that Sirhan is running freely and easily down a sidewalk and has no loss of movement and no evidence of injury. At 10:00 AM Sirhan arrives at the Organic Pasadena store and begins work, stamping bottles in the back room.

1967-68: (Marks): MKSEARCH scientist Dr. James Hamilton, who has been doing "clinical testing of behavioral control materials" on inmates at the California Medical Facility in Vacaville, spends more than $10,000 paying volunteers for his tests. This equates to somewhere between 400 and 1000 prisoners.

1968: The CIA's Office of Research and Development creates Project OFTEN, a joint program with the Army Chemical Corps in Maryland. This project is geared towards administering drugs on humans that would cause

heart attacks or strokes. Some of these experiments are done on inmates at the Holmesburg State Prison in Philadelphia. This program will be terminated in January, 1973.

January 1968: Sirhan has been expressing a desire to buy a gun but is unable to afford one. His brother Munir, who works at Nash's Department Store in Pasadena, tells Sirhan that his coworker George Erhard has a gun to sell. The gun in questions is an Iver Johnson Cadet Model .22 for $25. Perhaps Sirhan has decided on his own to become interested in guns, but it is hard to find the origin for this desire. Munir will later tell LAPD that he did not buy the gun, but he will be found to be lying in a polygraph test. Adel makes Sirhan swear on the grave of their dead sister that he will only use the gun at the shooting range and then throw it away. In LAPD reports, someone named William Edmond Price accompanies Erhard to the Sirhans' house to sell the gun to Munir.

According to the LAPD's Special Unit Senator investigation Sirhan begins studying the Bible in the beginning of 1968, with a member of the Seventh Day Adventist church. Sirhan will end these studies in March, showing little interest in the subject.

Feb. 15, 1968- Around 6 PM on this date George Erhard sells his .22 pistol to a coworker at Nash's Department store in Pasadena, named Joe, who turns out to be Sirhan's brother Munir. Munir and Sirhan meet Erhard on the corner of El Molino and Howard Street in Pasadena. Munir later tells the LAPD that Erhard visited the Sirhan's home and that Sirhan himself paid for the gun. The LAPD alleges that Munir has failed his lie detector test but Munir does not retract his story. Erhard will fail to positively identify the gun as the one used by Sirhan during the assassination. During the sale Munir pays for the gun but borrows six dollars from Sirhan to complete the sale.

2-5-68: The Rosicrucian Order receives Sirhan's membership payment indicating that he is still a member.

March-May 68: Sirhan fires his .22 revolver about six times at shooting ranges.

March 1968: FBI files contain an interview with a PCC student (name redacted) who knew Sirhan and who was a member of the Students for a

Democratic Society. This student states that in March 1968 he saw Sirhan and found that Sirhan had lost interest in the Arab-Israel conflict, resigning himself to the fact that the Arab territory would never be freed from Jewish control. This student states that Sirhan never had strong anti-Semitic feelings and that by this time Sirhan had lost contact with other Arab friends from PCC.

3-7-68: While working at the organic grocery store Sirhan neglects to cover a vegetable stand before closing down the store and Weidner confronts him. Sirhan responds angrily and Weidner tells him to leave the store. When Sirhan refuses to leave, Weidner calls the police. Sirhan leaves and never returns. Sirhan files a petition with the California State Division of Labor Enforcement in Los Angeles, claiming that Weidner still owes him $156 for 78 hours of work. The Labor Commission dismisses the case.

Sirhan quits his job the same day as fellow employee Retta Drake. In mid-March the two file a petition for wages due against the owner John Weidner.

3-10-68: Six days before he announces his candidacy, Robert F. Kennedy flies to Delano, California, to visit Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers (Joseph Palermo, “Here’s What RFK Did in California in 1968” from the Huffington Post 3-25-11). The Latino and working class vote will be a major target of his California campaign.

3-16-68: Robert F. Kennedy announces his candidacy for president, running against Lyndon Johnson in the primary elections. If Sirhan is programmed to assassinate Kennedy, this is obviously the earliest date for his programming process to begin (unless someone had advance knowledge of Kennedy’s upcoming campaign). Sirhan is not working at this time and his whereabouts for the entire month are largely unaccounted for; Mary Sirhan will later say that for the year prior to the assassination Sirhan has not spent a night away from home.

3-19-68: Sirhan is betting on horses at Santa Anita on his birthday and he decides that there is a certain horse that he does not want to win, since it is a “maiden” horse and has no chance of winning. He concentrates hard on wanting the horse to fail, and the horse ends up being disqualified. Sirhan believes that his desire for this outcome may have caused it to happen.

3-26-68: The Rosicrucian Order receives Sirhan’s membership payment.

March 1968: Sirhan has an argument with his brother Munir, who lives in the family home with him, and they do not speak at all in between this time and the assassination. The nature of their argument is not known, but this along with Sirhan's many other outbursts and conflicts with others shows that he is becoming more combative. He is now taking out his aggression by shooting his gun at the firing range.

In March Sirhan attends a meeting at the Theosophical Society's Adyar Lodge in Pasadena and asks member Willem Wills for book recommendations. Wills offers Sirhan the use of the library at the society and Sirhan asks if there are any books by C.W. Leadbeater. Sirhan refuses to give his name or address. According to an employee at a bookstore in Pasadena, Sirhan visits the bookstore five or six times between January and June and regularly buys books on metaphysics.

Some time in March, Sirhan family friend Linda Damakian gives Sirhan a car ride and he complains that he recently applied for a job but did not get it, and seems disappointed. He appears weak, thin and ill.

3-68: Joseph Marcovecchio, a minor acquaintance of Sirhan's, sees Sirhan for the last time at a bar near Allen Street in Pasadena. Sirhan seems exuberant because of his $2000 worker's compensation payout. Marcovecchio first met Sirhan in 1966 at a billiard hall in Pasadena.

3-29-68: Sirhan apparently writes a letter to a friend in Utrecht, Holland (see 5-5-68 below for the response). In this letter Sirhan complains of personal problems and says he has a girlfriend, who has never been identified and is never referred to by his family or friends. He either sends pictures of this girl or has sent them before. His "friend" in Holland has apparently known him since 1964. The LAPD will later decide this letter is a hoax written by a Dutch lunatic after the assassination.

3-31-68: President Lyndon Johnson announces he will not run for reelection.

4-1-68 (estimated): Someone resembling Sirhan is seen at the Los Angeles Greyhound station. The man appears to be intoxicated or insane, and shouts something to the effect of "Do you remember the Watts riots? Wait till you see what I'm going to do to Kennedy." This is according to a prisoner in Indio.

4-2-68: Sirhan goes out on the town with Walter S. Crowe, Jr., an acquaintance from PCC. Crowe later tells police that Sirhan dated girls occasionally.

4-3-68: According to Donna Herrick, owner of Lock Stock ’n Barrel in San Gabriel, Sirhan comes into the gun shop with two other Arabian or Mexican men (possibly his brothers Adel and Munir) to buy .357 Magnum tank piercing ammo. The shop only sells this product to law enforcement officers, and the three leave the store without making a purchase.

4-5-68: The Argonaut Insurance Company issues a $1705 check to Sirhan to as compensation for his injury.

4-8-68: Sirhan cashes his Worker’s Compensation check for the horse accident, at Crocker Citizen’s National Bank in Pasadena.

4-10-68: On either this date, or the 12th, 17th or 19th, an acquaintance of Sirhan's named Kermit Sanders sees Sirhan at the Hollywood Park racing track in the Club House upper level across from the bar, with another man of the same Arab descent. This man appears older than Sirhan. Sanders talks to Sirhan about racing and horses. Sanders does not identify either of Sirhan's brothers as the man who accompanied him.

4-10-68 – On this date (the Wednesday after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.) Alvin Clark, the trash collector at the Sirhan residence on Howard Street in Pasadena discusses politics with Sirhan (whom he knows as “Saul”). Sirhan is upset about the MLK assassination and tells Clark he is going to shoot Bobby Kennedy. He tells Clark “What do you want to vote for him for? I’m going to kill the S.O.B.” If Sirhan is in fact being programmed to kill Kennedy, he is heavily under the influence of his programmers by this point; he is buying ammunition and practicing shooting with them, and he is now mindlessly expressing hatred for Kennedy. This occurs long before the “TV show” of May 18th where he ostensibly learns that Kennedy supports sending jets to Israel to use against the Palestinians (this is supposedly the origin of his desire to kill RFK). Sirhan will later tell investigators that he exploded with rage precisely when he learned of Kennedy’s plan to send the 50 Phantom jets to Israel. See May 26th for more on this.

4-12-68: Shortly after Sirhan receives his Worker's Compensation check he gives $1000 in cash to his mother to keep for him.

4-14-68: Louis Shelby, co-owner of the Fez Restaurant where Adel Sirhan is employed as an oud player, goes to the Sirhans 'house for Easter Sunday and has an argument with Sirhan about the situation in the Middle East. According to Shelby, Sirhan is a follower of Abdul Nasser.

4-28-68: A gardener at the Granja Vista del Rio Ranch in Corona, Sirhan's old employer, receives a visit from Sirhan on this date. Sirhan is asking the whereabouts of a man named Frank who used to be the headwaiter at the ranch. The gardener does not know the whereabouts of Frank or why Sirhan wanted to contact him. This is probably referring to Frank Donarama, but why Sirhan would want to contact him is anyone's guess.

5-68: Sirhan receives the Rosicrucian Digest, which contains an article advising that "by writing down plans, goals and ideas, believing ardently in them, and reading them frequently, the plans, goals and ideas would materialize" (Appellant's Opening Brief from the Appeal). This may explain some of Sirhan's notebook writings, but not the origin of his hatred for Kennedy.

May 1968: Columbia University psychiatrist Herbert Spiegel performs a hypnosis experiment at the annual American Psychiatric Association meeting, which is recorded for NBC television. He successfully places a man under hypnosis and convinces him that a communist plot is going to take over American radio and TV. When taken out of the trance the man believes the plot is true and has no memory of being told about it. The belief is that such a victim of hypnosis would have to be actively deprogrammed in order to remove his false ideas or restore his memory.

5-2-68: Sirhan meets up with an old acquaintance named Walter Crowe, a friend from junior high school who also had attended Pasadena City College before transferring to UCLA in 1965. Crowe, a political radical, is close friends with radical communist and FBI informant William T. Divale. As Divale will reveal in a 1970 memoir, Sirhan makes revolutionary statements to Crowe about waging a war against the establishment. Crowe, a campus radical with ties to the communist underground, is under surveillance from the LAPD at this time and is possibly being monitored by the FBI as well (Melanson). The FBI files include an interview with an

individual whose name is redacted, but is most likely Walter Crowe. This individual was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party and had recently graduated from UCLA. He tells the FBI that he has spoken with Sirhan recently and attempted to recruit him to the Communist Party, and feels terribly guilty that he may have provoked Sirhan's revolutionary rage in some way. In one of Sirhan's notebooks there is a revolutionary rant ("I advocate the overthrow of the current president of the fucken United States of America"), including the Marxist creed "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to win." He promises "America will soon face a downfall so abysmal that she will never recover from it."

5-4-68: Sometime between 11AM and 2:45 PM Roberta Grijalva and her brother Richard, while at the San Gabriel Valley Gun Club on Fish Canyon Road in Duarte, see Sirhan firing guns while accompanied by a man in his thirties and a woman who is attractive and blonde in her late twenties, wearing a scarf. Sirhan and his companions leave together in a Lincoln Continental, possible a 1966 or 67 model. Charles Kendall also sees Sirhan at the range, firing a .22 pistol very "accurately and rapidly" and sees an old beat up De Soto, possibly Sirhan's, parked in the lot next to his own car. Fullerton McChesney also sees Sirhan at the range with another man. James Thornbrugh sees Sirhan at the range and does not see him talking to anyone else. According to Thornbrugh Sirhan leaves between 12 and 1. Claudia Williams and her husband Ronald have a conversation with Sirhan about his gun. Sirhan teaches Claudia how to shoot the gun and they do not observe him with anyone else.

5-5-68: An unidentified acquaintance of Sirhan's, living in Utrecht, Holland, apparently sends Sirhan a letter on this date. It arrives at the grocery store where Sirhan formerly worked, and John Weidner opens it on accident. According to the LAPD "There appeared to be a particular reference to some action Sirhan was contemplating prior to May 5, 1968. The writer of the letter seemed to be trying to get Sirhan to change his mind."

As the letter states:

"Thanks for your letter of April 29 but I am surprised to read that you have completely changed your mind. What has gone into you, Sirh?? I know, you

have always been a kind of pessimistic even since the first time I knew you back in ’64. But you can’t live on that way, why don’t you try to change it? I know Arabian thinking is different from American thinking, but don’t forget, you have a real free life and you can do whatever you like to. Why don’t you talk to your girl friend about it? She will understand you. As far as I can see, it is a pretty girl. Why don’t you send me some more or better pictures from both of you? Are you going to marry her? I hope she will give you the life you want. Maybe you will have some kids then after a few years and you will see everything looks different then. You wouldn’t like it the way it is right in the U.S.? Or do you? Look what happened to Dr. King a couple of weeks ago. I know to be rich is nice but I had so many bad luck in my life that I finally got used to it, and I am satisfied with what I have right now, and beside that my old boss came to me to ask me to as me back to work. Well you see, not having so much money, having a lot of risks and all that stuff, all of a sudden the tide turns. The 1st of June I will start there and I know I am going to enjoy it. Well dear Sirh, I hope you won’t do anything; you will be sorry for later and please give me finally your real address. I even believe that this address is not complete without the name of the street. I thought Los Angeles was so big that this would hardly be enough. Why don’t you get married right away than you can have your own address. Having from me to the other can’t good at all. My daughter is growing up fine. She will be 9 years old at the 6th of August. Send her a nice card will you! Well, Sirh I am going to bed now because it is pretty late and tomorrow I have a lot of work to do! I hope you will write pretty soon so we will have better contact with each other than in the past. I wish you and your girl all the best for the future. Many greetings, your friend. P.S. Next time I send you some pictures.”

According to police, the letter was signed Mr. Ebes, and was postmarked June 21 (although the stamp was purchased in May), which is of course long after the assassination. LAPD files show that Dutch authorities believe it was sent by a deranged man who sends letters to many notorious criminals. If true, this man somehow knew that Sirhan had worked for John Weidner and believed that Sirhan would receive this letter even though he was in jail. Another problem is that this deranged man could have simply sent a letter to Sirhan in care of the prison system; he must have known Sirhan would never read the letter if he sent it to his former employer. And

there is the question of the May 5th date: why would this person backdate the letter?

If the letter is real, it shows that Sirhan had a girlfriend, or someone he thought was his girlfriend; he had a mysterious friend in the Netherlands; Sirhan wanted to conceal his friendship with this man by giving him his employer's address rather than his home address; he had been in fairly regular contact with this person before the exchange of these two letters; and Sirhan had recently changed his mind about something. If the letter is authentic it is a mystery why the sender would wait until June 21 to send it, unless the LAPD simply fabricated the June 21 date to make it appear to be a hoax.

5-13-68: On this date or the day after Sirhan comes into the Golden Garter bar with a man named Jim (according to owner Andrew Martigiani). Sirhan is seen with his De Soto car at this time – this indicates that "Jim" is a real person connected to Sirhan and Martigiani is not mistaken as the LAPD will later decide he is. Jim is reported to be a 28-year old man with a Southern accent who is always smiling and is thought to have worked at the Worthington Corporation in Alhambra.

5-13-68: (Law professor Alan Scheflin's statement of 11-20-11 for Sirhan's appeal) Hypnotism expert Dr. George Estabrooks, of Harvard University, gives an interview to the Rhode Island *Evening Bulletin* in which he confesses that he has worked for U.S. military and intelligence services in hypnotizing and programming people, and that the Manchurian Candidate scenario is a real possibility. Estabrooks has been doing this since the 20's and the Soviets have done this since the "infamous Moscow Show Trials of the 1930's." Estabrooks states that is possible to give someone false memories, program them to do things without remembering the programming, and many similar actions. According to Scheflin's statement, the CIA's MKULTRA and ARTICHOKE programs, instituted in 1952, studied subjects including forced amnesia, inducing suicide, unconscious recording of memories or messages, tolerance for pain, and specifically the Manchurian Candidate scenario. These experiments go as far back as the 1880's in psychiatric circles.

5-14-68 (estimated): About three weeks before the assassination Sirhan visits the Broughton Book Store in Pasadena where he is a regular

customer. He shops for books on metaphysics, the occult, Eastern religions, and black magic. Employee Henry Ruthhardt later tells the LAPD that Sirhan is not friendly or talkative when he visits.

5-18-68: According to prosecutors Sirhan sees a TV biography of RFK which shows the candidate's intention to send jets to Israel for their self-defense; this enrages him. According to Sirhan's lawyer Lawrence Teeter (Second Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus) and many other investigators, this program was not aired until May 20 and it did not mention sending jets to Israel. Sirhan's notebook entry ostensibly comes from the 18th:

May 18 9:45 AM. My determination to eliminate RFK is becoming more the more of an unshakable obsession. RFK must die – RFK must be killed Robert

F Kennedy must be assassinated RFK

Must be assassinated RDK must be

Assassinated RFK must be assassinated

RFK must be assassinated RFK must

be assassinated…

According to testimony, Sirhan gets upset because he had supported RFK for president until this time. "It just bugged me sir, it burned me up…" He believes this is when he wrote the line in his notebook about killing RFK, but he does not remember writing it. He writes "5 June 68," and "Robert F. Kennedy must be assassinated before 5 June 1968." He testifies that 5 June refers to the date of the Israeli assault on the Arabs in 1967 (there is no mention that June 5 is the day after the primary and RFK will be leaving California on that day). He says he was triggered by the mention of Israel but does not remember writing it. At some point he also writes "Please pay to the order of of of of of…" but does not remember writing it and does not have a bank account. This is the same notebook that he has used several years before while studying at PCC. Sirhan clearly was only developing his hatred for Kennedy in a trance state. In his 1969 interview with NBC News Sirhan describes his experience of seeing Kennedy's image take his own in the mirror, around this time: "That was the only time, sir, when I saw Kennedy's picture, image in the mirror. Now I know…Well, that's what I

saw, sir. I don't know if his image was in the mirror…In reality – in really – in reality, but I know it was an illusion, sir, but I saw it." He goes on to describe how he considered Kennedy to be a prince, and that he could have succeeded, but became enraged when he saw Kennedy on TV promising to send fifty jets to Israel when he had been promising to bring the same kinds of fighter jets back home from Vietnam. He tells the interviewer that "Anything about Israel starts me off, sir."

It must be stated plainly: *Sirhan never consciously hated Kennedy, and the details about how this hatred began are murky*. Kennedy's support for Israel was a recent event in Sirhan's consciousness – Sirhan could have learned of Kenndy's pro-Israel stance in January 1968 at the earliest. Indeed he didn't display much interest whatsoever in Kennedy's campaign, whether positive or negative, during this time. Sirhan's apparent anger toward Kennedy only emerged during the trial, after repeated coaching from his own defense team and the psychiatrists who examined him.

Furthermore, *Sirhan did not consciously decide OR plan to kill Kennedy.* Notice that all Sirhan remembers is "It just bugged me…it just burned me up." He never says, "I decided to kill him when I learned that he would sell the 50 jets to Israel." In all of Sirhan's subsequent interviews he remembered purely negative reactions, not conscious decisions. He may have been programmed to enter a trance state and write these notes in response to certain stimuli, or he may have been instructed to write the notes while in a trance state induced by a programmer. Two years of immersion in the fraudulent, pseudo-scientific AMORC cult, plus his heavy reading of occult literature had perfectly prepared him to enter altered states of consciousness. As it was stated during Sirhan's 1969 appeal, all the psychiatrists who testified in the 1968 trial agreed that it was impossible for Sirhan to premeditate this murder with malice aforethought.

5-20-68: Kennedy and his entourage leave their headquarters at the Ambassador Hotel and travel to Alhambra, San Gabriel and Duarte, making campaign stops. At noon they arrive at Robbie's Restaurant in Pomona, where a luncheon is scheduled. Tickets cost $2.50.

Speaking to a Jewish congregation at Temple Isaiah in Los Angeles on the 20th, Kennedy gives his support to Israel and calls for Arab states to recognize Israel's existence and sovereignty. This is clearly an example of

pro-Israeli sentiment near the May 18th date specified in Sirhan's notebook but there is no mention the 50 Phantom jets and was not televised so this cannot be the catalyst for Sirhan's rage (*Jerusalem Post* 6-7-68).

12:20-1:30: Restaurant employee Robert le Beau sees Sirhan at RFK's speech at Robbie's Restaurant while he is working as security to prevent unwanted people to come up the stairs to the location of the speech. Sirhan and a female companion are attempting to go upstairs, and the woman tells le Beau that she is with the senator's party and that the senator just waved for them to come up. Le Beau lets the two go up the stairs. He later sees the two upstairs and realizes they are not with the senator. He accidentally bumps into Sirhan and says "Pardon me." Sirhan responds "Why should I?" Le Beau describes the woman as "white, female, American, light brown hair (possibly blonde), attractive, slim figure wearing a satin type material blouse, white in color."

1:30: Kennedy leaves Pomona via motorcade and heads to Ontario. After this he flies to San Diego, where he makes four appearances, then comes back to Long Beach at night (The David Allen Blog, "RFK in Pomona with a Sombrero").

On the 20th Sirhan buys $3.77 worth of gas at the Richfield Oil Company in Pasadena.

On the night of the 20th Sirhan meets up with old junior high school friend Walter Crowe at PCC and goes out drinking with him and two other students, ending up at a topless bar and a Mexican restaurant (Melanson).

5-21-68: The Kennedy campaign reveals its "Hollywood for Kennedy" committee, consisting of a veritable who's-who of Hollywood royalty.

5-21-68: Sometime between the 21st and the 25th, Kermit Sanders sees Sirhan at the Hollywood Park racetrack at the winner's circle and has a conversation with him about horses.

5-22-68: RFK is campaigning in San Francisco.

5-23-68: PCC student Michael Haggerty sees acquaintance Sirhan at Denny's. Sirhan is sitting with some other Arab students. Haggerty approaches the table to say hi but Sirhan starts talking in Arabic to his friends, ignoring Haggerty. Sirhan and his friends leave the restaurant

without ordering any food. Later, in the trial and in the media, Sirhan will be portrayed as a loner with few friends but there is much evidence to suggest that while he was opinionated and eccentric and could at times be confrontational or socially awkward, he did have friends.

5-24-68: The Kennedy campaign's "Kennedy for President" gala takes place at the Los Angeles sports arena. Sirhan is seen there by an anonymous caller to the FBI (resident of Santa Monica). Sirhan is moved along by Kennedy assistants.

5-26-68: Speaking in Temple Neveh Shalom in Portland, Kennedy makes impassioned pro-Israel pronouncements: "The U.S. must defend Israel against aggression from whatever source. Our obligations to Israel, unlike our obligations towards other countries, are clear and imperative. Israel is the very opposite of Vietnam Israel's government is democratic, effective, free of corruption, its people united in its support....We are committed to Israel's survival. We are committed to defying any attempts to destroy Israel, whatever the source. And we cannot and must not let that commitment waver." Kennedy finishes the speech by saying "The United States should, without delay, sell Israel the fifty Phantom jets she has so long been promised" (John H. Davis, *The Kennedys: Dynasty and Disaster*).

A May 26 article from the Pasadena *Independent* entitled "Paradoxical Bob" describes Kennedy's criticism of the Vietnam War and his paradoxical support for arming Israel. This article will be found in Sirhan's pocket on the night of the assassination.

5-27-68: The Pasadena *Independent* runs a story about Kennedy's pro-Israel speech in Portland. The Sirhan family subscribes to this paper (Davis).

5-68: Around two weeks before the assassination Sirhan enters an auto parts store in Pasadena to buy items for his car. His acquaintance Ivan Garcia is working, and notices that Sirhan has a large roll of cash, including hundred dollar bills, but complains that he is losing too much money at the track and has had to stop betting on horses.

5-28-68: Sirhan attends the Ancient Mystical Order of Rosae Crucis meeting in Pasadena at 7:45. He is introduced to the group as a new member. He says that he has been a member of the organization for about a

year but this is his first meeting. According to some, Sirhan introduces himself as Joe. Sirhan participates in an experiment where he is blindfolded and various items are pushed against his skin and he must describe the number of items. One attendee believes Sirhan is accompanied by attendee Henrietta Bouse, who denies knowing him. Sirhan tells Sherman Livingston, an official with the AMORC, that he wants to talk with him at length but Sirhan leaves before this can occur.

5-28-68: A man resembling Sirhan is seen by Beverly Brons at the Lakewood Country Club during a luncheon and rally for Kennedy. A young white woman is seen talking to him. She is about 19 years old. According to LAPD, Brons later believes the person she saw was Democratic Party worker Fernando Hernandez.

5-29-68: On or around this date Sirhan and someone named Jim are seen in the Golden Garter. Sirhan tells Jim, “We will wait till he gets into town and then we will get him.” Jim responds “Cool it.” At this time Jim requests more credit at the bar and Andrew Martigiani, the owner of the bar, refuses because Jim already owes $5. Jim and Sirhan leave the bar after this. Martigiani has also seen Sirhan at the bar on two other occasions with a Mexican man, around 24 years old, 165 pounds. Later the descriptions of Jim and Sirhan appear to match up with patron James Wilson and his friend Robert Andrese (who may have been the man mistaken for Sirhan). However, Sirhan was undoubtedly a regular customer at the Golden Garter. Patron Steve Stuart tells the FBI that he has played pool with Sirhan there, and patron Karen Haines believes she has seen Sirhan there as well. Harold Pitz, another patron, specifically tells the FBI that he played pool with Sirhan at the bar, and that it was not Andrese. However, Martigiani has seen Sirhan arrive and leave the bar in his De Soto car in the company of this “Jim,” so the evidence points to Jim being a real associate of Sirhan’s.

5-30-68: Kennedy tours the San Joaquin Valley. A witness sees Sirhan at the train station in Turlock, CA, accompanied by a white male and a white woman, awaiting Senator Kennedy’s arrival. She has no doubt that this is Sirhan.

6-1-68: According to Larry Arnot, Sirhan purchases two boxes of .22 Super X ammunition at Lock, Stock, and Barrel while accompanied by two men

who are possibly his brothers. Both brothers deny being in the gun shop with Sirhan.

A receipt found in Sirhan's car confirms that he purchased four boxes of .22 caliber bullets at Lock, Stock, and Barrel in Pasadena.

Sirhan shoots his pistol at the Corona Police Firing Range. Dr. Brown claims that Sirhan remembers being there accompanied by a man with a foreign accent and a turned-down mustache who was teaching him to shoot at vital human organs. This man gave Sirhan the idea that government officials needed to be killed, and he shared Sirhan's interest in short-wave radios. In the trial, handwriting expert Laurence Sloan testified that Sirhan did indeed sign into the Corona Police Range on the 1st. Harry Starr's trial testimony confirms Sirhan's presence at the Corona police pistol range from 12:15 to 3:00.

A man hiking with his son in Temecula believes he sees Sirhan with an Arabic man and woman, target shooting in the Rancho California area with a .22 rifle and a .22 pistol. They are driving a 2-door dark blue Volkswagen.

Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy have a debate on KGO television in San Francisco.

On the 1st Sirhan asks his mother for $300 of his worker's compensation money, depleting the original total to $400. His mother accuses him of wanting the money for horse betting and he replies that he needs the money to get a job. She throws $400 of cash at him, and he picks up $300 of it and hands the $100 back to her.

On June 1st a television debate between Kennedy and Democratic Senator and rival Eugene McCarthy airs in which Kennedy reaffirms his support for Israel, and in specific gives his support for selling the 50 Phantom jets to them: "I've said that we at least have to help them rebuild the strength they lost in the recent war. If that means 50 jets, well, I'm for 50 jets." This may be the TV special Sirhan claims to have seen that infuriated him – problematically this is long after the May 18th date specified in his notebook (*Jerusalem Post* 5-7-68).

Around this time Sirhan is seen at a leather shop at 339 South Main Street (apparently in Los Angeles) by employee Lou Berman. Sirhan enters, accompanied by a "female, foreign origin (possibly Cuban/Arab) 27-30"

who was plump and perhaps pregnant. Sirhan tries to buy a 9 shot, k-22, ww caliber revolver but after he tells Berman he is an alien (not a US citizen) Berman refuses to sell it. Sirhan and the woman argue over the price of the gun and Sirhan leaves. Berman will tell the LAPD that Sirhan was well-known at the pawn shops in the neighborhood

6-2-68: Sirhan attempts to shoot at the Corona Police Firing Range but they are only accepting shotguns on that day (he only owns the .22 pistol). According to Lawrence Teeter's Second Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus in 2002, an impostor signs Sirhan's name into the register at the Corona range. The rangemaster, a Corona policeman, remembers the man who signed the register as a 200-pound, six foot tall man whose face resembled Sirhan's. Teeter suggests that this impostor was sent to the range to create a paper trail providing evidence that Sirhan was planning his murder ahead of time.

After failing to shoot his gun at the range, Sirhan returns home and buys an *LA Times* in Pasadena. He reads in the newspaper that there will be a public reception for RFK at the Ambassador Hotel that night. Sirhan goes and sees RFK, who looks "like a saint" according to his testimony. He does not remember wanting to kill RFK or going to the Ambassador with that intention.

Sirhan is seen between 8:30 and 10:00 PM at the Ambassador Hotel, during a reception for RFK. He is positively identified by William Blume, who worked at the liquor store next door to the Organic Pasadena Food Company, where Sirhan worked at the same time.

An entry appears in Sirhan's notebook, "Editorial by George Putnam, Friday June 2, 10:30 p.m." This refers to a TV news commentator. Sirhan claims that he did not watch TV when he came home from the Ambassador on the 2nd - he went right to bed. This day was not a Friday, and Sirhan will not recall when he wrote this.

The following is from the LAPD's "Activity 72 Hours Prior to Assassination":

12:01-8:00 AM: Sirhan is in his bedroom at 696 E. Howard St.

8:00-9:00 AM: He drives his mother to church at 1757 N. Lake St. in Pasadena.

9:00-11:00 AM: Sirhan’s whereabouts are unknown.

11:00 AM: Sirhan is at home.

11:15 AM- 5:00 PM: Unknown.

In an LAPD report, campaign worker Eleanor Severson says that around 2 or 3:00 PM on this day, campaign volunteer Khaibar Khan brings in four men to be registered as volunteers on the campaign, and one of these men is Sirhan. In the report, Khan is said to have brought in four to eight Arab-Americans a day to volunteer on the campaign. Campaign worker Larry Strick also claims to have seen Sirhan with Khan at this time.

A word about Khaibar Khan: In an article in *The Historian* from 2021 (*"A Spectacular Irritant": US-Iranian relations in the 60s and the world's best-dressed man*), Ben Offiler provides valuable background to the life and career of Khaibar Khan Gudarzian, an Iranian businessman who was an enormous thorn in the side of the Johnson administration. Gudarzian hated the regime of the Shah of Iran, and actually sued him on the grounds of corruption. Since Gudarzian was outspoken and aggressive in his denunciations of the Shah, and since Johnson was intent on preserving Iran as an ally in the Mideast, Gudarzian became quite unpopular in Washington. Gudarzian's claims of corruption were found to be baseless by the US government, who wanted very badly to prosecute Gudarzian. But as the article states, "The Department of Justice, Department of State, and US Embassy in Tehran all agreed that although there were grounds for pursuing a criminal case against Gudarzian for forgery, conviction was unlikely without the testimony of certain prominent Iranians." Gudarzian had decided that a Kennedy administration would have a much more preferable policy toward Iran. In a "Background Paper in the Department of State" from August 15, 1967 (available at the Office of the Historian's section of the State Department's website), we see the following on "The Gudarzian Case":

A spectacular irritant in our relations with the Shah arose out of the activities of an Iranian promoter, Khaibar Gudarzian. “Khaibar Khan,” as he calls himself, three years ago published a sensational set of allegations of multi-million-dollar embezzlement including charges against members of the Shah’s family and involving AID activities in Iran. The allegations were repudiated by Senator McClellan after detailed inquiry conducted by the

Senate Committee on Government Operations. Gudarzian nevertheless succeeded in tying up substantial bank accounts of the Shah's brother and sister for many months until a Federal District Court ruled against Gudarzian last autumn. Gudarzian's appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals was rejected and his suit against the Prince and Princess has apparently been dropped.

The Justice Department has continued to review the possibility of criminal prosecution against Gudarzian. At the present time, however, Justice does not believe that any of the possible charges can be pressed successfully due to a variety of legal technicalities. The Department of Justice is continuing, however, to evaluate the case and will take action if it appears that an opportunity is presented.

Our immigration authorities have confirmed that Gudarzian is "out of status" and they have initiated proceedings designed to effect his deportation. This can be a lengthy process, taking a year or more, but the matter will be pressed as rapidly as administratively feasible.

Khan was under the watchful eye of the Justice Department and it's almost certain that the FBI's COINTELPRO program would've been reading his mail and tapping his phones. And as the Church Committee Report describes, since Khan was a foreign national the CIA could freely monitor him. So the question that arises is, why did Sirhan end up in the company of Khan? Khan later claimed to have seen Sirhan at headquarters but denied knowing him. Incidentally, Khan attested to seeing the woman in the polka dot dress during the assassination. Was Sirhan potentially sent to assassinate Khan, in a plan that never materialized? Also, it seems that Sirhan was brought to headquarters by one of the Arabs in Khan's local network. This, and the other sightings of Sirhan with mysterious Arabs at gun shops and other locations, points to the possibility of Sirhan's handlers being some group of Arab-American government informants. Were some of these Arab-American campaign volunteers actually spying on Khan for the Justice Department?

The LAPD's records of their interviews with Khan from after the assassination are in their Special Unit Senator collection. Khan had been fearful of the Shah and his agents in the U.S. ever since he testified on the Shah's misuse of American funds before the Permanent Subcommittee on

Investigations in 1963, and even more so since an article appeared in *The Nation* in 1965 which described his allegations against the Shah. Khan had been violently attacked by multiple assailants in March of '68, leaving him in a cast. According to the LAPD report, "Khan did not wish to get mixed up in an affair involving the Arab countries and the Jewish state that might come as a result of the assassination." This is a cryptic comment - how could the assassination cause an affair between Israel and the Arab countries unless Khan believed Sirhan was somehow manipulated by larger political forces? Soon after the assassination, on June 27th, Khan will be arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for overstaying his allowed time in the U.S. and his deportation hearing will be set for July 19. So clearly the government is trying to get rid of him around this time.

Regarding Sirhan's possible support for the Shah: In LAPD records is the statement of a former classmate of Sirhan's named Terry Fell, who went to both middle school and Pasadena City College with Sirhan. In 1968 Fell worked for Military Intelligence with the 115th group of the U.S. Army in San Francisco. According to his statement, while at PCC Sirhan was involved with a campus group that supported the Shah of Iran during his visit to the United States. This visit must have been on June 5, 1964, when according to the State Department's Office of the Historian, the Shah made private visits to New York and Los Angeles. This would be during LBJ's administration, and we know that Johnson was much more supportive of the Shah than JFK was. Did Sirhan know any campus federal informants who were discouraging criticism of the Shah? Or did he become one himself?

One possibility is that the Arabic men seen with Sirhan were targets of, or informants for a joint CIA-Mossad operation. In an article in the *MERIP Middle East Report* from 1986, Jeff McConnell writes about "Israeli Spies in the U.S."; he describes how from 1967 to 1974 CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton coordinated Operation CHAOS, which was a joint surveillance operation run by both the CIA and the FBI that monitored political activists in the U.S. One aspect of CHAOS was a partnership with Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, in which Arab activists were spied on, and their personal information was then sent to Mossad. This was a response to anti-Zionist Arab-American activism following the Six Day War of July, 1967. Mossad was intent on monitoring and suppressing all anti-Israeli activities, which understandably flared up at that time. In "The CIA

Mandate and the War on Terror" (Yale Law and Policy Review Spring 2005), author Grant T. Harris tells how CHAOS began: "At the request of the President, the DCI established a Special Operations Group within the CIA in August 1967 to examine the role of foreign influence on domestic disorder." CHAOS eventually collected 13,000 files on 300,000 groups and individuals within the United States. A RAND report from 2009 ("The Challenge of Domestic Intelligence in a Free Society") provides more context: Not only was the CIA funding the National Student Association, but the NSA's "Operation MINARET" spied on international students by intercepting their communications. The Church Committee Report also lists Project RESISTANCE, a CIA operation that lasted from 1967 to 1973 which monitored campus radical groups across the U.S. The CIA used local police, campus administrators and informants to collect information on any groups that might threaten CIA facilities or operations.

The Church Committee Report of 1976 detailed the scope of domestic surveillance from the period covered in this timeline. Throughout the 60s the FBI intensified its use of informants to infiltrate college groups affiliated with the "New Left," which was an umbrella term that referred to any kind of leftist, anti-war, Civil Rights, feminist, or anti-establishment group. While the FBI manual made certain prohibitions on the use of informants, most agents ignored these prohibitions and informants flooded these leftist groups, providing massive amounts of information to the FBI. In the winter of 1967-68 the Justice Department called on local police departments to aggressively use informants to penetrate New Left groups and report back to a central office in the Justice Department. Police eagerly followed through on the mandate. An Interdivision Information Unit (IDIU) was created in the department, and it was used to create a master index of individuals and groups associated with "black power, pacifist, new left, pro-red Chinese, anti-Vietnam war, pro-Castro, etc." Any anti-Zionist or pro-Arab groups would surely be swept up in this.

As Jefferson Morley describes in *The Ghost*, James Angleton not only partnered with the FBI, but he had almost complete control over the CIA's relationship with Israel. Given that Angleton was wholly devoted to Israel and also in control of Operation CHAOS, not to mention the illegal Huston Plan, which opened the first-class mail of anyone deemed suspicious by the government, it is no secret now that Arab-Americans were under the

scrutiny of the CIA and Mossad. So the idea of Sirhan getting swept up in a government operation through his mysterious Arabic acquaintances becomes feasible.

To return to the afternoon of June 2nd:

3 PM: Kennedy arrives at the Orange County airport in Santa Ana and departs in a car for Bolsa Grande High School in Garden Grove. He arrives at 3:45 and addresses a crowd of 10,000 at the Strawberry Festival there. He stays until 6:00 PM, then departs with his family to Disneyland, which is a last minute decision. The caravan stays at Disneyland until 7:00 PM, and then Kennedy's children depart for the Beverly Hills Hotel and Kennedy and his wife Ethel depart for the Ambassador Hotel. They arrive between 8:30 and 9:00 PM.

5:00-6:00 PM: Sirhan is at home.

6:00-8:30: Unknown.

8:30-9:30: Sirhan is seen at the Kennedy rally at the Ambassador Hotel.

9:30-10:30 PM: Unknown.

10:30-11:00 PM: Sirhan is at home.

6-3-68:

Continued from LAPD report:

12:01 AM- 8:00 AM: Sirhan is at home in his bedroom.

8:00 AM-8:15 AM: Sirhan drives his mother to work.

8:30 AM-10:30 AM: Unknown.

10:30-10:40 AM: Buys gas at Richfield gas station at 2529 E. Foothill Blvd in Pasadena.

10:40 AM-12:30 PM: Unknown.

12:30 PM-1:00 PM: At home.

1:00-4:30: Unknown according to the LAPD.

At around 1:30 PM Eleanor Severson sees Sirhan again at campaign headquarters standing by the coffee machine.

4:30-5:00: Watches TV at home.

5:00-6:00: At home eating dinner.

6:00-9:00: At home reading in his room.

(Respondent's Brief from Sirhan's Appeal) Sirhan asks his mother for the remaining $400 from his Worker's Compensation award because he plans on going to the horse races. Apparently this accounts for the $400 found in Sirhan's wallet after the assassination. Sirhan is seen getting gas at 11 AM at the Richfield gas station where he used to work on Foothill Blvd.

From LAPD's SUS report:

10 AM: Kennedy leaves the Ambassador Hotel and goes to LAX, where he takes a flight to San Francisco. He gives a speech at Fisherman's Wharf and returns to Long Beach Airport at 4:00 PM. He then goes to the Lincoln Park section of Long Beach, where he gives a short speech, and then drives through Watts where he speaks to the crowd from his car. At 5:30 the caravan leaves Watts and drives through Venice. At 8:00 PM Kennedy takes a flight from LAX to San Diego, and returns at 12:30 AM on the 4th. He does not feel well.

6-4/5-68:

Kennedy's campaign schedule on the 4th: Kennedy rests at the home of *Manchurian Candidate* director John Frankenheimer in Malibu, awaiting election results. Kennedy beats McCarthy 46.3 percent to 41.8. At 7:15 Kennedy's driver Don Weston arrives at the Frankenheimer residence and drives Mrs. Frankenheimer and Mrs. Kennedy to the Ambassador. Kennedy and campaign manager Fred Dutton are drive to the Ambassador by Mr. Frankenheimer. They arrive at 8:10. Kennedy goes to his room and spends the next few hours talking to the press, friends and staff.

From Respondent's Brief of Sirhan's Appeal: Sirhan goes to Hollywood Park but does not like any of the horses and decides to go to the San Gabriel Valley Gun Club to go shooting. He has plans to either go to a Rosicrucian meeting that night or get new tires for his car. He has three boxes of ammunition but on the way to the gun club he goes to Lock Stock and Barrel, where he buys six or seven cartons of shells. Police will find the following items in Sirhan's pocket: $100 bills and several smaller bills; a

lyric sheet to the song “This man is your man” to the tune of “This Land is Your Land,” which was being sung at the hotel to celebrate Kennedy’s victory; an article from an unknown newspaper advertising Kennedy’s presence at the Cocoanut Grove at the Ambassador Hotel on the night of June 2nd; and the “Paradoxical Bob” newspaper column mentioned above, discussing Kennedy’s support for Israel.

Sirhan stays at the range from noon to 5:00. He remembers talking to the rangemaster Everett Buckner, shooting a .38 caliber gun (which is not the one he purchased in February), firing normally (not in a rapid fire manner), and leaving when the range closed. Buckner sees Sirhan arguing with a woman who angrily tells him, “God damn you, you son of a bitch, get out of here or they’ll recognize us!” Later the LAPD will coercively discredit Buckner and aggressively sabotage his lie detector test. Henry Carreon sees Sirhan at the Gun Club and in his Grand Jury testimony he is unable to identify Sirhan’s gun as the same one used against RFK.

Sirhan's signature on the sign-in sheet at the range is verified as his own by Laurence Sloan at the trial.

3:30 AM: Sirhan’s brother Adel sees Sirhan buying a newspaper at this time on the corner of Lake and Washington in Pasadena. This is the last time Adel sees Sirhan before the assassination.

8:00 AM: Sirhan leaves home in his car to buy a newspaper.

8:30: Mary Sirhan leaves for work. This is the last time she will see Sirhan before the assassination. At noon Sirhan awakens his brother Adel for a telephone call and leaves in his DeSoto while his brother is on the phone.

9:00 AM: Campaign worker Estelle Sterns claims that she sees Sirhan at campaign headquarters at 5615 Wilshire Blvd. around this time, accompanied by two Arabic-looking men. Sirhan and one of the men are carrying guns in shoulder holsters. They ask Sterns what Kennedy's campaign schedule is that day. They talk to her about golf, Sirhan asks her out for a cup of coffee, and one of the men asks if he can walk through the campaign headquarters. The LAPD also interviews Sterns's coworker Eleanor Severson, who refutes the report and refers to Sterns as a "feather brain." In these reports the possibility emerges that Sirhan may have been accompanied by Khaibar Khan at this time. In one police report, campaign

worker Larry Streck claims that he saw Khan in the company of Sirhan at headquarters at this time.

9:30-11:00 AM: Sirhan is at home according to the LAPD.

11:00 AM: Answers telephone at home.

11:00-5:00 PM: Sirhan is at the San Gabriel Valley Gun Club in Monrovia practicing his shooting.

5:00-6:00: Unknown. Between 5:00 and 5:30 RFK Khaibar Khan sees Sirhan at campaign headquarters on Wilshire Boulevard accompanied by the girl in the polka dot dress. LAPD will later suppress this information (Melanson).

6:00-6:40: Sirhan meets a former classmate at Bob's Big Boy in Pasadena. He goes to the cafeteria at PCC and meets several other friends, including Anwar Sayegh and Isah Misteri. They discuss horse racing and check the racing results. Sirhan's friend Gaymoard Mistri buys a copy of the *LA Times* at PCC and gives the Classified Section to Sirhan. Sirhan sees a notice for a march for Israel for the 5th on the Miracle Mile and mistakenly thinks it is this night. Thinking of the Six Day War, he suddenly decides to go to this march. He leaves at 7:15 and drives to where he thinks the march will be and gets lost trying to find the Miracle Mile. He drives aimlessly and stumbles upon the headquarters of Senator Thomas Kuchel who is losing in the race. Sirhan leaves, following some people to the Ambassador.

As he is walking to the hotel from his car he sees a billboard for a Jewish organization and gets "boiled up" again. In his pocket he is carrying newspaper articles about RFK's support for Israel. Here we see more evidence that Sirhan's rage against Jews was converted into a desire to kill Kennedy *without him realizing it*. Sirhan was not capable of doing this to himself.

7:30-8:45: Unknown.

8:45- Sirhan is seen at the Ambassador Hotel. Sirhan talks to an electrician and asks him if he has seen RFK. Sirhan is holding a glass of milky fluid and is very talkative.

9:00-9:30 - Sirhan talks to several young Mexican men in the Palm Court room of the hotel. He tells them that he doesn't care for RFK and he is only

seeking office for selfish reasons. He says he has just paid $20 on a drink to impress a hostess who was looking down at him.

9:30-10:00: He is seen standing in the Colonial Room looking at the teletype machines. He has apparently gone into his trance by this time; according to teletype operator Mary Grohs, “I asked him what he wanted. He didn’t answer. He just kept staring. I asked him again. No answer” (Melanson).

10:15: Booker Griffin, reporter for the Los Angeles Sentinel and head of the Los Angeles chapter of the Negro Industrial and Economic Union, arrives at the Ambassador Hotel. He receives a press pass from Pierre Salinger and walks into the press room where he talks with friends.

10:00-10:15: He is seen outside the restrooms next to the Venetian Room.

10:15-11:00: He is seen in the pantry of the kitchen. As Lisa Pease mentions, Ace Security guard Thane Cesar, who will later be escorting Kennedy through the pantry, is one of the two guards tasked with checking press passes for entry into the pantry. However Cesar does not appear to be doing his job as there are many people without passes going in and out of the pantry.

10:45: Booker Griffin sees Sirhan with a woman with dark hair and a white dress (from *LA Times* 6-6-68). Griffin later tells the *LA Times*, “My thought was he was a weird cat.”

11:00-11:30: Sirhan’s whereabouts are unknown. Of course this half hour window gives plenty of time for the girl in the polka dot dress to prepare him to shoot Kennedy.

11:30-11:45: Sirhan is seen walking out of the pantry into the kitchen.

11:45-12:00 AM: Sirhan is seen in the pantry asking people if Kennedy is going to come that way later.

12:05-12:10: Sirhan is standing on a tray rack in the pantry looking toward the stage.

12:10-12:15: Sirhan is standing next to ice machine in the pantry.

Shortly before the assassination waiter Vincent di Pierro sees Sirhan standing next to the girl in the polka dot dress and recalls that the two of

them had strange smiles on their faces. Sirhan will appear to be dazed and confused for several more hours, slurring his words, wheezing, kicking over a cup of hot chocolate, and shivering during his first interactions with police at around 12:45 AM. (According to Lisa Pease, Sirhan will later experience the same chills and shivering when he is coming out of his hypnosis with Dr. Diamond.) Sirhan will not return to lucidity until his second interview at 3:15 AM, when he begins to answer questions clearly and politely. Whatever trance or altered state Sirhan is in, it lasts many hours, from roughly 9:30 PM to 3:00 AM (Melanson).

12:10: Kennedy finishes his victory speech in the ballroom and tells his aides he wants to go through the pantry to the Colonial Room to talk to the press. There is some discussion that there is a short cut through the pantry, and the hotel's maitre'd Karl Uecker decides to lead the group through the pantry. Kennedy is followed by security guard Thane Cesar and several bodyguards.

12:15: Sirhan jumps off the tray stacker and begins firing at Kennedy.

According to Dr. Daniel Brown: Sirhan goes into a hypnotically induced alter personality state, exacerbated by alcohol, before shooting at RFK. Sirhan, who does not have dissociative identity disorder according to Brown (and therefore cannot put himself into a trance), must receive cues from another person to enter this state. Sirhan has high hypnotizability and according to Brown must have been hypnotized prior to this event in order to enter his amnesiac dissociative state. (Brown states emphatically that Sirhan does not and has never had paranoid schizophrenic disorder.) Sirhan "did not and could not have known that Kennedy was going to pass through the kitchen area" and was led there by a woman who had received her instructions from an official at the event. Philip Melanson, in *The Robert F. Kennedy Assassination*, reprints a 1974 interview given by hypnotherapist Dr. John Walters: "You can get into a self-hypnotic state…but when you start giving yourself a suggestion, it's back at a conscious level again, so you're no longer in a hypnotic state where I interject thoughts and pictures and you don't have to think, only absorb." According to Dr. Walters the thoughts and pictures must be supplied by someone else: the patient can only absorb suggestions, not supply them.

Dr. Brown finds that Sirhan has reasonably accurate memories (not complete recall) of events surrounding the assassination, but total amnesia of the event itself. He finds no evidence that Sirhan is fabricating his memories or lack thereof. Sirhan's memories of this day are as follows: After going to the gun range (which he will remember clearly when asked later by Dr. Brown) Sirhan returns to PCC where he shoots pool with a friend. He then goes to "Big Bob's" (Bob's Big Boy?) to "check out girls" in his words. After seeing an advertisement for a parade commemorating the first anniversary of the Six Day War he goes to the Wilshire area and sees a large group of people at a "storefront campaign headquarters." He stops and asks the people where they are going, and they tell him there's a bigger party at the Ambassador Hotel. Sirhan goes to the Ambassador to pick up girls. He is told to go to the party for Republican Senator Rafferty and decides to go when told that Rafferty's daughter Kathleen goes to PCC and Sirhan knows her. In conversation with Dr. Brown Sirhan recalls some details of the following events. He feels out of place and notices that the hotel is very hot, and wants some lemonade. He goes to the bar where he feels that the bartender is giving him strange signals. Sirhan begins to feel very sleepy and is convinced that the bartender is communicating to him with gestures. He sits down to rest and realizes he must go home without meeting Kathleen Rafferty, so he goes to his car, but realizes he's too drunk to drive and returns to the bar to get some coffee. (According to the Respondent's Brief Sirhan remembers talking to a beautiful girl after returning from his car. He doesn't remember bringing his gun into the hotel.)

After returning to the hotel (according to Brown) Sirhan encounters a woman in a polka dot dress who tells him she knows where the coffee is. She leads him by the hand to a room behind the stage where they find coffee in a silver urn. He is entranced by the girl and decides he must take her to bed tonight. A man in a suit comes by and directs the two to the pantry. The girl leads Sirhan into the kitchen/pantry area. In the kitchen Sirhan tries to flirt with her and she sits on a table top showing her legs to him. She suddenly points behind him, pinches him very hard and turns him around. She places her arm on his shoulder. He believes he is at a gun range firing at a target with circles. The next thing he knows he is being choked by someone, and there is chaos. Later when Dr. Brown interviews Sirhan, Brown will notice Sirhan going into "range mode" again. Brown finds

examples in Sirhan's notebooks that show that he is responding to suggestions which have been designed to provide cues to induce the hypnotic state and cause him to enter range mode. The notebook contains a link between alcohol and love ("alcohol will love love love love love love"), and numerous circles that look like the targets at a gun range and will also be suggested by the circles of the polka dot dress. In hypnosis Sirhan also recalls seeing a gunshot in front of him, presumably the shot that entered the back of Kennedy's head fired by a second gunman.

On May 23, 1969, in an interview on NBC News, Sirhan states: "I don't remember it. I don't know that I did it. And I know this sounds unbelievable to you, sir, it sounds unbelievable to the psychiatrists, it sounds unbelievable to the world but I honestly, sir, don't care whether, whether you want to believe it or not because I believe it and my conscious is with me when I say that and that's all that really counts to me." He goes on: "I remember a good part of it, the people that – whom I offered the drinks to, the Puerto Rican and a couple of – a few Mexicans – and I remember the confusion – I remember the TV cameras very much like here but they were bigger cameras – I remember the bright lights…"

After the shooting Booker Griffin sees the woman in the polka dot dress run from the kitchen and he attempts unsuccessfully to pursue her.

After the shooting LAPD Officer Paul Sharaga, the first officer on the scene, receives information from witnesses that two more suspects, a woman and a man, were seen with Sirhan. He puts out on all-points bulletin on these suspects, but it is cancelled at 1:41 AM. According to the LAPD radio log: "Disregard that broadcast, we got Rafer Johnson and Jesse Unruh who were right next to him and they only have one man and don't want them to get anything started on a big conspiracy." Later, Sharaga's statement is destroyed by the LAPD and replaced with one not written by him.

Sandra Serrano, a volunteer for the Youth for Kennedy group, is sitting on the stairway outside the Embassy Ballroom when she hears the gunshots. A woman in a polka dot dress runs down the stairway accompanied by a young man who seems to be Mexican-American. The woman shouts "We shot him." Serrano asks "Who did you shoot?" The woman says, "We shot Senator Kennedy." The woman has dark hair and a "funny nose" and is

wearing dark shoes (*LA Times* 6-6-68). Serrano remembers seeing these two with a third man earlier in the evening. The LAPD's coercive treatment of Serrano (who always insisted on the accuracy of her story), and their destruction of other evidence, is well documented elsewhere.

Epilogue: After the Assassination

7-18-68: "Important papers" related to the case are burned by two student workers for the LAPD's Special Unit Senator investigation at the Los Angeles County General Hospital.

8-21-68: The LAPD orders 2,400 photos related to the assassination destroyed at the incinerator of the Los Angeles County General Hospital. Officers H.R. Shiells and T.J. Miller personally complete this task.

2-8-69: Dr. Bernard Diamond, UC Berkeley professor of law and psychiatry, successfully hypnotizes Sirhan and causes him to climb on the bars of his cell like a monkey. Sirhan forgets that he has been programmed. In another test Diamond succeeds in inducing Sirhan to write phrases and suggestions under hypnosis, which Sirhan does not have any memory of writing. Later Sirhan believes the suggested writings are forgeries and not his own.

Interlude: A Wider Constellation of Control

Here I would like to briefly trace the confluence of cultural influences that are responsible for the Sirhan Sirhan who walked into the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel that night. To me these represent a constellation of control systems that overlap each other and which have continued up to the foundational period of the Oklahoma City bombing (and by extension to the present day).

I will start with the brief and catastrophic friendship of NASA rocket engineer Jack Parsons, and Scientology founder L. Ron Hubbard.[vi] Parsons was one of the founders of NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena and an enthusiastic member of British occultist Aleister Crowley's Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO). Parsons founded the Pasadena chapter of the OTO at a location he referred to as the Agape Lodge. Parsons's goal was to bring a child into the world who would be the incarnation of the Thelemic goddess of female sexuality, Babalon. The OTO originated in Germany and was created by Freemasons who shared common origins with the Rosicrucian Society (AMORC) that so deeply influenced Sirhan. AMORC's founder, H. Spencer Lewis, seems to have patterned his society after the OTO model, and Lewis and Crowley had a contentious relationship.[vii]

Parsons lived in a house on South Orange Grove Avenue that served as America's OTO headquarters and the location of his rituals - and the pulp fiction novelist L. Ron Hubbard came to live there in 1945. While the Church of Scientology has denied this, it is now clear that the two men engaged in a series of rituals to invoke the Goddess Babalon, and this experience deeply influenced Hubbard's creation of Scientology. Crowley quickly became disenchanted with both men and, for all intents and purposes, disowned them. Crowley saw quickly that Hubbard was a con-man who was attempting to steal Parsons's wife (which he succeeded in doing), and Parsons and Hubbard severed all ties, but not before Parsons's strange ideology took its effect of Hubbard. As one writer put it, the OTO became "one but *only* one—element in the rich, eclectic bricolage that became the early Church of Scientology; but these occult elements are also

mixed together with themes drawn from Eastern religions, science fiction, pop psychology, and Hubbard's own fertile imagination."[viii]

Parsons was not only an early influence on Hubbard, but he was also a product of the mid-century military complex and served as an FBI informant who snitched on communists. He was so valuable to the government that even after stealing confidential documents from Hughes Aircraft, the Air Force reversed the decision to deny him a security clearance. Parsons had stolen the documents in hopes of securing a job in Israel developing their rocketry systems, but apparently this fell through.[ix] Parsons was actually close friends with scientist Theodore von Karman; you may recall that Sirhan worked as a gardener at von Karman's Pasadena estate.

Hubbard's "eclectic bricolage"of Scientology was so ingeniously created that it soon became a successful and influential system of control disguised as a religion, a cult in search of respectability. But in many ways it has existed in a dialectical relationship with the U.S. military-industrial complex:

"Not only was secrecy and the claim to valuable information a key part of Scientology's tremendous symbolic (and economic) power, but its very tactics of secrecy and its growing wealth in turn aroused the interest of the government's own security agencies and covert operations. In sum, the practice of secrecy was in this case an elaborate dialectical interaction between the government and the Church. A spiraling, self-destructive, yet somehow self-nourishing feedback loop, it circled endlessly in a cycle of concealment, espionage, and counter-espionage that left both the Church and its critics drowning in a mire of lawsuits."[x]

When 26-year-old Charles Manson arrived at McNeil Island Prison in 1961, he was introduced to Scientology and quickly used it to figure out how to dominate and control people. He later claimed that a fellow inmate named Lanier Rayner introduced him to Hubbard's teachings and that he became a theta clear in a matter of months.[xi] His first prison progress report concluded that because of his study of Scientology he had made great improvements for the first time in his life; he had become more focused, more insightful, more confident - he was becoming the Charles Manson

who would exercise amazing psychological and physical control over his "Family."[xii]

When Manson was paroled in 1967 (while Sirhan was heavily under the influence of his programmers), Manson's parole officer Roger Smith, who was doing CIA-funded research on criminology for the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), sent Manson to San Francisco, probably to use him in his studies. Manson ended up doing an enormous amount of LSD and spending a great deal of time and at the Haight-Asbury Free Medical Clinic, which was run by a NIMH-funded pharmacologist named David Smith, who specialized in the effects of LSD. Manson would visit the clinic for his parole meetings with Roger Smith.[xiii]

While Manson was in San Francisco, the notorious psychiatrist Louis Jolyon West was there too, funded by a CIA front called the Foundations Fund for Research in Psychiatry. In 1965 he had predicted that a cult-leader like Manson would use LSD to control his followers. West used Smith's Free Medical Clinic to find willing young people to take LSD for a study called the Haight-Ashbury Project. This project was directed and funded by Sidney Gottlieb, head of the CIA's MKULTRA program.[xiv] We know what Manson did when he left San Francisco, and we know how violently it discredited the hippie/anti-war movement.

Dr. West had previously visited Jack Ruby alone, after which he concluded that Ruby had suffered a psychotic break; it's rumored that he visited Sirhan Sirhan in prison and concluded that Sirhan was "the subject of psychic driving, a mind-altering technique involving hypnosis or paralytic drugs"[xv]; and a member of Timothy McVeigh's defense team claimed that West later visited McVeigh in prison on multiple occasions. As Wendy Painting says, "Today, the direct lineage of the CIA/military funded activities of West and friends during the Cold War can be seen in the practices now (in part) known to have occurred at Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib and other 'black' sites used for interrogation and torture in the Global War on Terror (GWOT)."[xvi]

I want to establish this chain of influences and confluent power structures so that we can think about how these methods of control perpetuate each other. I also want to make it clear that there is a lineage of control methods from the period of JFK's assassination to the present day. These methods

include assassination, mass terror, mind control, and psychological abuse. Now we will see how state power and its twin sister, terrorism, have evolved together in the post-9/11 world.

Part 3: Terror After 9/11

Introduction

1.

In America, the authorities have a dialectical relationship to domestic terrorism.[xvii] The law enforcement community, from the local police all the

way up to the Department of Justice, has recurring legitimacy problems in the eyes of the public - and the continued threat of terrorism, and the public willingness to fight it, justifies the state's increasing power. This problem is equally severe for the intelligence community, and both communities have tackled it with equal desperation. The events I discuss in this book took place in the wake of the Snowden revelations of warrantless NSA surveillance of the general public, as well as the Black Lives Matter movement, which was precipitated by the murder of Trayvon Martin. Both of these events occurred in 2013, and authorities responded by trying to convince the public that they are still the good guys. Terrorism is useful because it ends the conversation. The events are so violent, so despicable, that there is no room for argument. These shocking acts must be met with a response; so we invite more powerful law enforcement and data-gathering apparatus, more militarized federal, state and local agencies to protect us. It is a quest for more funding, but that's not all. At a deeper human level, it's also a quest for power, respect, and narrative control.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore, in her book *Abolition Geography*, describes how police departments in America have for a long time (beginning in the 60s when the LAPD became the first American police department to use helicopters) imported strategy, weaponry, and materials from the Pentagon, and how the LAPD has been at the vanguard of this trend. After 2013 the LAPD began a program called the Community Safety Partnership (CSP), which was intended to win the hearts and minds of inner city residents who had lost trust in the police. She compares this program to an occupying army providing goods and services to those who cooperate with them, or who work as informants. This specific strategy was used by America's military in Vietnam and Afghanistan. This CSP program, and similar ones in other big city police departments, coincided with a further militarization of police and rising law enforcement budgets. She calls this phenomenon a "crisis of legitimacy," and argues that it has resulted in more harassment and arrests of black people, without a reduction in crime; but it has created a more weaponized and powerful police force. This crisis of legitimacy is a phenomenon that we must keep in mind as we examine the two case studies of San Bernardino and Las Vegas.

What must be conveyed is the desperation of both the law enforcement and intelligence communities to restore trust - to get Americans to beg the authorities to occupy our communities, spy on us, eradicate dissent, exercise military authority over us. The police have had powerful allies in the media who work very hard to manufacture consent for more repressive policing. One outrageous *New York Times* editorial from 2022 claimed that the Democratic party's pro-police policies were an organic response to the needs of communities of color who were asking for a more intrusive police presence in their neighborhoods. Journalist Alec Karakatsanis responded:

"Note right away that the New York Times erases other possible explanations from the public record: Democratic Party elites in major cities want to boost police because of real estate developers, because police unions have a lot of power and donated to these campaigns, because expanding the massive punishment bureaucracy actually serves the interests of people who own things, police surveillance and repression are profitable to certain powerful political interests, there actually hasn't been a shift but the NYT is manufacturing one by only profiling centrist, pro-police candidates and by portraying establishment Democrats as having had anti-police policies that they never truly had, or perhaps the Democratic elite is choosing candidates of color who are pro police precisely because that is the best way to inocculate them from liberal criticism and to promote its pro-business, pro-police agenda?"[xviii]

The law enforcement complex manufactures consent in a variety of ways. Dissent movements, however earnest or popular they may be at the outset, are quickly coopted and used by authorities to justify their militarization. The Black Lives Matter movement was infiltrated in 2020 during the George Floyd protests when a well-paid FBI informant discredited protesters by encouraging acts of violence and terrorism.[xix] Thus the movement can be associated with terrorism, and the public will distrust it. A recent study showed that between 2014 and 2019, "more than 600 private donors and organizations collectively funneled $461 million to police and to other nonprofits supporting police — a figure that, [Professor of Sociology Robert] Vargas said, was 'without a doubt an undercount,' as it was based on organizations 'own disclosures about their giving. The private money comes in part from big retailers like Target and Walmart; oil companies like

Chevron and Shell; and Microsoft and other Big Tech players — companies that have touted their support of law enforcement for years." Police have been developing these secret slush funds and these relationships with corporations with no oversight, and the whole complex works in tandem to stifle dissent.[xx]

The authorities do not just target the left: Conservative dissent has been thoroughly infiltrated and discredited by the government; notably, the Governor Whitmer kidnapping plot was completely invented and created by an FBI informant.[xxi]

Also the government has been plagued with accusations that during the January 6 attack on the Capitol the FBI informants encouraged the rioters to commit the violence that so outraged the public. The *New York Times* reported that federal agents were in the crowd, *Newsweek* reported that secret commandos with "shoot to kill" authority were involved, and the FBI's Executive Assistant Director for the National Security Branch Jill Sanborn refused to state whether informants were there, when she was questioned by Senator Ted Cruz.[xxii] After January 6 many called for the FBI (whose powers were already widely expanded after 9/11) to have even greater authority, when it should be clear to anyone who watches the agency closely that they have routinely misled both congress and the public about how little accountability they have had. Their abilities to collect data on Americans have broadened and their evidentiary predicates for this invasive surveillance have been reduced or eliminated in many cases.[xxiii]

Researcher Boltzmann Booty, who connected the Oklahoma City bombing to the CIA in a widely shared Twitter thread, has compiled a list of 25 active shooters or terrorist plots since 2001 in which the main culprits were entrapped by federal agents or in which feds were the main instigators and planners of the plots. Many of these plots involved Muslim Americans who were connected tangentially to ISIS. Boltzmann says that "part of what’s going on is that our political system is structured such that every level of government benefits from occurrences and near-occurrences of these events. Individual federal agents receive adulation and career advancement when they orchestrate plausible-looking attacks and then stop them at the last minute—a dangerous game that can obviously spin out of control

quickly. Agencies like the FBI benefit directly from the attacks through budget increases and mandate expansions. The federal government more broadly can use these attacks to sculpt narratives and influence mass psychology..."[xxiv]

It can be argued that the seminal period for the phenomenon I'm talking about was in the Clinton presidency, as the U.S. was reacting to the fall of the USSR and the end of the Cold War. Several enormously influential events reshaped the way that the military-industrial-law enforcement complex maintained their power over the citizenry now that the pretext of fighting the spread of communism was gone.

Communism obviously wasn't a threat during the 1992 presidential campaign, and crime was not a major issue either - for this reason Clinton's crime policies did not get major attention, and Bush did not press him on crime, not seeing that it was a vulnerable issue for the Arkansas governor. When Clinton did talk about crime in response to the 1992 LA uprising, he sounded like a classic liberal, focusing on improving opportunities for minorities and fixing structural societal problems. However, as soon as he was elected his demands became clear: 100,000 new police on the streets, boot camps, the expansion of the death penalty, limits on habeas corpus apppeals, and a ban on assault rifles. The 1993 Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act that passed the senate was quite punitive (co-authored by Joe Biden), and Clinton did little to change it. The version he supported, which passed the house in 1994, focused on both punishment and prevention. Notoriously, the three strikes policy, the boot camps, the expansion of the death penalty, and additional funding to build prisons were highlights. The $28 billion bill was passed on April 21, 1994, the most expensive law enforcement bill in history at the time. However, in November 1994, when Republicans took control of Congress and Newt Gingrich asserted his authority, the GOP began the process of dismantling Clinton's bill.[xxv]

This brings us to the Oklahoma City bombing of April 19, 1995, which killed 167 people and destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, According to Clinton himself, the bombing turned his fortunes around - he couldn't have asked for a more beneficial event to revive his presidency.[xxvi]

The issue was the Republican Tough on Crime Bill, which had been designed to reverse Clinton's '94 bill - and Clinton couldn't afford to veto a bill that appeared to be tougher on crime than his previous attempt. Clinton now faced a "tough on crime" legitimacy crisis, even though his own harshly punitive '94 bill would have devastating consequences for the country for decades to come. Clinton was going to have to compromise with the GOP in a new bill that would have cut many of the prevention programs from the '94 bill. But luckily for the Clinton administration, the OKC bombing, and the specter of domestic terrorism, directed the national conversation away from the GOP's "Tough on Crime" obsession and paved the way for the 1996 antiterrorism bill we will discuss momentarily. What we need to understand is how the communism threat was replaced by a crime threat and solidified into a terrorism threat, and how terrorism became the eternally important weapon in our government's apparatus of control that it remains to this day.

But first we need to understand the Oklahoma City bombing. For decades, researchers have worked hard to uncover the complexities behind the tragedy, which according to the official story, was solely the work of Timothy McVeigh, with some assistance from Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier. But as researchers like Dr. Wendy Painting, Richard Booth, Jesse Trentadue, and many others have revealed, the bombing involved a wider group of people who had connections to multiple government agencies who were involved in infiltrating the right wing militia movement which McVeigh was a part of. These agencies include the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, and the CIA. The FBI then covered up enormous amounts of evidence regarding the bombing.[xxvii]

Clinton responded to the attack with a piece of legislation that has not gotten the historical attention it deserves: the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDP). This created the legal architecture for the Patriot Act of 2001, which would solidify the post-9/11 nightmare of domestic surveillance, overseas wars and police militarization in which we find ourselves. The most infamous result of the AEDP is probably the way it shredded habeas corpus, which is intended to protect defendants against unlawful detention or imprisonment. Because of the law, innumerable

innocent people have spent their lives in prison and likely have been executed as well.[xxviii]

9/11, and the ensuing Patriot Act, should be seen as a larger repetition of the events of 1993-1996. In the same manner 9/11 served to manufacture consent for the repressive slew of government policies that followed, whether enshrined in legislation like the Patriot Act, or whether performed without the public's knowledge, like the NSA's mass data collections. In my own research I have focused not on the event itself, which is scientifically complex territory to wade through given the complexities of the destruction of the Twin Towers. Instead I have focused on the relationship between the Bush administration to the Saudi government and and the Pakistani government, and in this arena I believe it is possible to call 9/11, in a profound sense, an inside job. When I say inside job, I mean that 9/11 served the interests of one massive political, operational and financial entity; this entity funded, planned and executed the attack; and that this entity's major power players were the Bush administration and its military-intelligence-financial network and the Saudi government, with assistance from the Pakistani government. This is obviously a vast over-simplification, but it is a foundational event for what we are about to discuss, so it deserves a mention.

Following 9/11, the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan were plagued by the military's confused doctrine of counterinsurgency (referred to as COIN), developed by General David Petraeus. One analyst described COIN's limitations:

"Indeed, none of the field manuals or tactical guidelines define standards, or even clear indicators, for any goal concerning counterinsurgencies, handover to civilians, or governance. The transition from military-assisted democratisation to civilian Afghan authorities is often incoherent and intangible. It is hardly surprising, then, that key institutions, including the Afghan National Army, collapsed as fast as they did. Rather than standing on their own, foreign powers had been propping them up for years."[xxix]

It could be argued that the U.S.'s domestic law enforcement and intelligence communities, freighted as they are with military personnel, methods and

equipment, have absorbed this post-9/11 tactical confusion when it comes to policing an unruly population. Because of this incoherent, intangible counterinsurgency doctrine, which has no viable means of handing over control of the government to civilians, we have the paradoxical "military-assisted democritisation" that acts like an occupying army. And most disturbingly, the army that rules over us domestically is never going home; it is already home.

Now we will examine some specific events that illustrate these trends.

2.

In this section I will discuss three case studies from the post-2013 period which I believe may illuminate new ways in which the dialectical relationship between state power and terrorism is expressing itself.

In February of 2013, a former LAPD officer named Christopher Dorner went on a shooting rampage that culminated with his death in an inferno in a cabin near Big Bear, California, on February 12. During his nine-day manhunt he killed the daughter and fiancee of a man who had disciplined him during his time at the LAPD, as well as two other law enforcement officers. He released a manifesto that outlined a long history of racist and recriminatory tactics used by the department against him, as well as his own attempts at blowing the whistle against police brutality. Also in his manifesto he outlined a plan of action that was exceedingly dangerous to law enforcement, since he was highly trained and prepared for asymmetrical, guerilla warfare against an institution that he viewed as an invading, hostile army. Since Dorner had military training as a Naval Reserve officer, as well as his police training and knowledge, he had the material and tactical tools to carry out this violent program of retribution. One can imagine an army of disgruntled former police and military veterans taking up arms, with an ideologically disciplined and focused goal to destroy the law enforcement's dominance over our communities. Of course Dorner and everything he stood for had to be discredited in the court of public opinion, and the militarization of law enforcement had to continue uninterrupted.

During the final shootout, police threw seven incendiary devices into the cabin, eventually destroying him and the entire structure, but not before he ended his own life with a single gunshot. During and after the manhunt, LAPD's actions, and Dorner's complaints, were greeted with outrage and he was viewed by many as a hero. The media blitz that followed portrayed him as delusional and incompetent, and with some exceptions, the narrative became a long exercise in apologia for repressive policing. I will argue that the Dorner manhunt helps us to better understand the San Bernardino Massacre.

On December 2, 2015, at 10:58 AM, 14 people were murdered and 22 were injured in a shooting at the Inland Regional Center (IRC) in San Bernardino, California. Authorities determined that the shooters were Syed Farook, an employee of the San Bernardino County Department of Public Health Environmental Health Services Division (EHS), and his wife Tashfeen Malik. Farook and the rest of the employees of the EHS were at the IRC for an annual training event. After the shooting the couple then drove around the San Bernardino-Redlands area for several hours until they were apprehended by police and killed in a shootout at around 3:15, about two miles from the IRC.

Just under two years later, on October 1, 2017, from 10:05 to 10:16 PM, Stephen Paddock opened fire on the Route 91 Music Festival from the 32nd floor of the Mandalay Bay Resort and Hotel, killing 58 (another 2 would die later) and wounding over 800. Authorities would determine that he acted alone, bringing dozens of firearms into his hotel suite over the course of four days before the massacre.

I started investigating these three events because they took place close to my home in Southern California and because, unlike events like 9/11 and the JFK assassination which I had also investigated, there wasn't already a preponderance of evidence and literature available. As far as I'm aware, there are no books about any of these subjects.

While we know what motivated Dorner, the fact is that whatever motivated Paddock, Malik, and Farook is still a mystery. In this investigation I will

argue in favor of a specific method we should use to approach this fact, keeping all that we know of the cases and the historical context of domestic terrorism in mind. There may be no point in time at which we have one hundred percent of the information we need to "solve" these mysteries - but the way we contextualize and interpret these events will leave them pregnant with more potential unseen actors than would appear at face value; and they will stand out as important chapters in the national security state's battle for narrative control.

Christopher Dorner

1. The Manhunt

On February 3rd, 2013, sometime between 7:30 and 9:10 PM, Christopher Dorner shot and killed Monica Quan and Keith Lawrence in the parking garage of their condominium in Irvine, firing 14 bullets into their car. Quan was the daughter of retired LAPD captain and attorney Randall Quan, who had represented Dorner at his Board of Rights hearing in 2008.[xxx] According to *LA Times* reporter Joel Rubin, discipline in the LAPD is a convoluted process. A Board of Rights hearing in the LAPD is essentially a Kafkaesque, three-person trial that decides whether an officer will be fired, disciplined, or exonerated. Problematically, in these hearings, two of the three people are command-level officers, and the chief of police, who is not legally allowed to fire an officer, will typically send officers to the panel when he wants them fired. These two officers will clearly be aware of their boss's intent (and in Dorner's case they were friends of the officer he had accused of misconduct); these conflicts of interest obviously would have enraged Dorner and the many others who have been fired through this process.[xxxi]

On February 4th Dorner published his manifesto on Facebook.[xxxii] We will examine it closely in the next section. Importantly, in the manifesto he claimed that the LAPD cost him his career as a Navy reservist, which ended on the 1st of February. Many in the media questioned why it took Dorner

five years to go on his rampage, but it seems clear that his Navy discharge was the catalyst.

Later that day, Irvine police detective Victoria Hurtado began a database search for Christopher Dorner. She had been told by LAPD Pacific Division officer Teresa Evans that she suspected Dorner might be involved in the murder, because he had been angry at Quan after his termination. Hurtado found out that Dorner had been a Navy Reservist, owned a gray Toyota Titan pickup truck, owned many guns including a 9 mm Glock (which matched the shell casings at the murder scene), and lived in National City near San Diego. A search in the National City area found security camera footage of Dorner throwing away suspicious items in a trash bin in an alley.

On February 5th, Dorner checked into a hotel on a San Diego Naval base near Lindbergh Field. It is unknown how he gained access to the area, but he probably used his own military identification documents.

The next day Dorner tried unsuccessfully to steal a 47-foot boat from a man at the Southwestern Yacht Club in Point Loma, San Diego. He tied up the man and told him that he was going to take the boat to Mexico, but apparently he gave up his plan when the boat's ropes got tangled in the propeller.

Then just after midnight, in the early hours of February 7th, Dorner fired at two police officers in Riverside when they attempted to pull him over in his truck. He then shot two officers, Michael Crain and his trainee Andrew Trachias. Crain was pronounced dead at the hospital and Trachias survived.

Later that morning, at 5 AM in Torrance, LAPD detectives saw two newspaper delivery women driving a blue pickup truck, and thinking it was Dorner, opened fire, nearly killing them (Dorner's truck was gray). The LAPD then moved "unusually quickly" to settle out of court in a process that usually took police shooting victims years to go through, and the women received $4.2 million in April of 2013.[xxxiii] A second shooting occurred less than an hour later in Torrance with a similar vehicle but no one was injured. The occupant, David Perdue, a 160-pound white man

(Dorner was 270 pounds and black), was on his way to go surfing when his truck was riddled with gunfire. He later received a $20,000 settlement.[xxxiv]

The *LA Times* received nearly 200 letters to the editor during this week, and the vast majority of them were critical of the LAPD. Some of the criticism was directed at the shooting of the delivery women and some of it was directed at the institutional racism that Dorner complained of.[xxxv] Meanwhile, Facebook pages in support of Dorner began appearing, and as I personally remember, social media was buzzing with admiration for him. Some of the pro-Dorner Facebook pages are still online.

On the 7th, CNN anchor Anderson Cooper announced on Twitter that he had received a package from Dorner, and that inside was a note, a DVD, and a coin shot with holes.

Also that day, authorities found Dorner's truck on fire in the area near the town of Big Bear, in the San Bernardino Mountains, with footsteps in the snow leading away from it. It was revealed that Dorner's mother owned two acres of property 35 miles from that location.[xxxvi]

On February 12 Dorner was found in a cabin near Big Bear by the cabin's owners, who noticed that he had been there for several days, eating and sleeping in the house. He tied them up and stole their car, and while driving through the area was noticed by police and chased to a cabin, where he holed up and began shooting at police. After a lengthy standoff, during which a sheriff's deputy was killed, the SWAT team shot seven canisters of flammable CS gas into the cabin, and the cabin erupted in flames and while it was burning, a single gunshot was found. Dorner never emerged, and his body was found inside.[xxxvii] LAPD chief Charlie Beck later defended the San Bernardino Sheriff Department's decision to use the "hot gas," saying that police didn't know what other capabilities Dorner might have. As Beck said, "When we initially got the manifesto and I saw the names on the list, including my own, immediately my thoughts go to, 'How do I protect all these people?'...It just reminds you how fragile this all is."[xxxviii]

The Police Foundation later released a 100-page report on the nine-day manhunt and law enforcement's response to it.[xxxix] The report outlines

several challenges they faced: the unprecedented way in which law enforcement officers were being "hunted"; the scope of protective detail provided to LAPD officers; the speed, area, and geographical diversity of the manhunt; and the final location of the manhunt, with its snowy weather, mountainous terrain, and narrow twisting roads.[xl]

What is remarkable is that the report immediately makes specific plans for the improved response that we will see during the San Bernardino Massacre, and which will be tested in Las Vegas in 2017: The report "revealed the problems still faced by policing a region of 10 counties and dozens of cities and towns, which are growing increasingly into one homogenous population of 22 million people. In some ways, Dorner was an anomaly - a well-armed attacker who knew police tactics. But police chiefs and county sheriffs involved in the incident agree that a small force of knowledgeable terrorists bent on creating havoc could easily replicate such attacks."[xli]

The major problems identified in the report are that tensions arose between different law enforcement agencies with differing agendas: some were involved in locating Dorner; some were involved in crime scene investigations; some were possible targets named by Dorner in his manifesto; many officers converged on the same scenes with little understanding of their roles, and many others self-deployed; many officers were acting based on media reports and social media rumors; in short, it was chaos. We see that the increasing trend in law enforcement is to minimize this chaos with more centralized command centers, and thus more centralized authority with less accountability and increased surveillance capabilities. We will discuss how the Fusion Centers respond to this need.

Interestingly, the Joint Regional Intelligence Center in Norwalk, which was created after 9/11 to centralize law enforcement's management of the terror threat in Southern California, was suggested as a command center by LAPD Assistant Chief Michael Moore. Other agencies agreed, and during the manhunt it became a "unique hybrid center." The report outlines some examples of the ways different agencies operated together:

"The JRIC brought efficiencies from many agencies together, [LAPD Detective Dan] Jenks said. One part of the team was the High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Task Force, which had invaluable experience with wiretaps and surveillance efforts. At one point, the HIDTA team brought a judge to the JRIC to help quickly clear warrants to allow the establishment of numerous search efforts, he said. Federal and State officials also brought unique support to the effort. The Fish and Wildlife Service has tagged many of the large carnivores in the San Bernardino Mountains, and agreed to monitor tracking devices to see if the animals were congregating in one spot where a potential body might be discovered. The Department of Homeland Security agreed to allow the use of a C-123 aerial surveillance plane, which could focus infrared sensors on the snow-covered mountains to discover hikers by the heat signature."[xlii]

Dorner's psychological affect on the police was profound: "Countless police leaders have described this event as 'beyond their worst nightmare.' Leaders had the gut-wrenching responsibility of maintaining public safety services with the knowledge that every one of their troops could have been the next random target."[xliii]

The report notes that by the time Irvine Police Chief Dave Maggard addressed the media at 7:45 PM on February 6, most of the media (and much of the public) had read Dorner's manifesto and were prepared with questions about Dorner's grievances with the LAPD. There is a palpable discomfort with the public's level of sympathy with Dorner, and with their distrust of the police in general. The report describes the torrent of pro-Dorner sentiment that erupted on Facebook and other social media sites during the manhunt. Other complaints about social media include gripes that Dorner could be monitoring the internet to see where law enforcement is looking for him, so the report also recommends limits on law enforcement's disclosure of details to the public about cases like this. All this, in addition to the spread of rumors and misinformation that "hinder law enforcement efforts," are common complaints. We will keep these in mind when we look at the concerns with encryption regarding the San Bernardino Massacre. The public's free access to information, as well as the quickness and the *security* of the exchange of information are problems for the national security state.[xliv] And in a larger sense, as I argue throughout

this section, the law enforcement and intelligence communities have an enduring desire for narrative control. Sometimes they fail, and sometimes they succeed. It is up to us to determine the how much control we cede to them.

2. Christopher Dorner's History and the Manifesto

Dorner grew up in various locations in Southern California and majored in political science at Southern Utah University in Cedar City, Utah, where he graduated in 2001. As one newspaper reported:

"Dorner joined the U.S. Navy in 2002, achieving the rank of lieutenant in 2006, according to military records. He served as a reservist in Nevada and San Diego, and was a member of the Coastal Riverine Group deployed to Bahrain from November 2006 to April 2007. He was stationed at the Navy Mobilization Processing Site in San Diego in 2007 and the Navy Air Station Fallon reserve unit in Nevada in 2009. He left Navy service officially on Feb. 1. During his service, he was awarded the Iraqi Campaign Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Global War on Terrorism Service Medal, Rifle Marksman Ribbon, Pistol Expert Medal, among other commendations."[xlv]

In 2006 Dorner graduated from the police academy, and after he joined the LAPD he was deployed to Bahrain, and returned to the LAPD in July of 2007. His wife filed for divorce that year, and he lost his job at the LAPD the next year. In 2007 Dorner filed a complaint against a fellow officer, Teresa Evans, complaining that she kicked a mentally ill man needlessly three times during an altercation. Dorner was fired in 2008 for allegedly lying about the incident and the LAPD exonerated Evans, who is white, of all charges in 2009. In October 2015 Evans sued the department, claiming that she was "subjected to adverse employment actions" after the incident. During the lawsuit, Evans's attorneys requested investigative reports and personnel records related to Dorner and the incident, but the LAPD refused to grant them, citing privacy concerns.[xlvi]

After Dorner's revelations, over three dozen former LAPD officers claimed that they had been fired improperly as a result of institutional racism and they demanded that their cases be reviewed. What is clear is that Dorner was not a delusional outlier, but he represented overwhelming pressure building up within and without the department. It became clear to the public that there was not only a problem of racist policing, which targeted communities of color, but racism within the department which targeted officers of color.[xlvii]

In December of 2013, the *LA Times* produced a series of articles that were presented from the perspective of Dorner's victims and their families, and the police who put together the clues as the manhunt unfolded. Dorner was portrayed as a "problem cop who had been fired," "sloppy and hamfisted," "unstable, perpetually angry and frustrated, eager to see racism in every encounter"; Evans's experience when she was put on desk duty was portrayed as a "nightmare." There is no effort to imagine what it would've felt like for Dorner to be "deemed a liar and fired," and to be led out of the LAPD's examination rooms in the Bradbury building under the eyes of armed guards, his career in flames behind him. Instead we are treated to sympathetic descriptions of Evans as she lived in fear of Dorner's revenge for months, carrying a Glock and looking constantly over her shoulder, believing that sooner or later he would try to find her.[xlviii]

Dorner's manifesto, which is titled "Last resort" (commonly referred to as "rambling" in the media), begins with a claim that the LAPD was never reformed after the Rampart scandal of the 90s:

"I know most of you who personally know me are in disbelief to hear from media reports that I am suspected of committing such horrendous murders and have taken drastic and shocking actions in the last couple of days. You are saying to yourself that this is completely out of character of the man you knew who always wore a smile wherever he was seen. I know I will be villified by the LAPD and the media. Unfortunately, this is a necessary evil that I do not enjoy but must partake and complete for substantial change to occur within the LAPD and reclaim my name. The department has not changed since the Rampart and Rodney King days. It has gotten worse. The consent decree should never have been lifted. The only thing that has

evolved from the consent decree is those officers involved in the Rampart scandal and Rodney King incidents have since promoted to supervisor, commanders, and command staff, and executive positions."[xlix]

He then details his allegations against Teresa Evans and the Board of Rights hearings that led to his dismissal. In August of 2007, as he says, he reported Evans for the misconduct. Not only was he deemed a liar by the department, but ten months later, in June of 2008, he was relieved of duty while working in the Southwest division. During his Board of Rights hearings between October of that year and January of 2009 when he was formally dismissed, the victim and his father both corroborated his claims of Evans's misconduct. He lists the conflicts of interest in the Board of Rights, but the names are all redacted; unsurprisingly, several of the people on the board were personal friends of Evans. He then details Evans's lengthy history of excessive force while in the line of duty, as well as her history of domestic violence. He implores journalists to investigate his claims. We know that never happened.

During his Board of Rights hearings, Dorner was labeled as a bully for a "1.28" complaint he had made against several officers while working in the Hollywood division. While riding in a van with other officers he had heard one of them use the "n" word, and told the officer not to say that word. The officer said "I'll say it when I want," and another officer defended him, and Dorner and the two officers verbally sparred. After Dorner filed the complaint, six of the other officers claimed they hadn't heard the offensive language, and the two officers in question were given 22-day suspensions and then completely reinstated. So to Dorner, it was clear proof that the LAPD's racism was institutional and not a product of a few bad apples.[l]

In the Board of Rights process, other accusations were levelled against Dorner, namely that he was bad at writing reports or that he was sloppy (he'd had a two-day suspension for an accidental discharge of a weapon, which the media never tired of repeating during the manhunt).

So why was the rampage necessary? Couldn't Dorner have kept appealing his decision? Weren't there legal means available to him? Couldn't he just put his life back together and "move on"? He tells us:

"I have exhausted all available means at obtaining my name back. I have attempted all legal court efforts within appeals at the Superior Courts and California Appellate courts. This is my last resort. The LAPD has suppressed the truth and it has now lead to deadly consequences. The LAPD's actions have cost me my law enforcement career that began on 2/7/05 and ended on 1/2/09. They cost me my Naval career which started on 4/02 and ends on 2/13. I had a TS/SCI clearance (Top Secret Sensitive Compartmentalized Information clearance) up until shortly after my termination with LAPD. This is the highest clearance a service member can attain other than a Yankee White TS/SCI which is only granted for those working with and around the President/Vice President of the United States. I lost my position as a Commanding Officer of a Naval Security Forces reserve unit at NAS Fallon because of the LAPD. I've lost a relationship with my mother and sister because of the LAPD. I've lost a relationship with close friends because of the LAPD. In essence, I've lost everything because the LAPD took my name and new I was INNOCENT!!! Capt (redacted) and Sgt.(redacted) all new I was innocent but decided to terminate me so they could continue Ofcr. (redacted) career. I know about the meeting between all of you where (redacted) attorney, (redacted), confessed that she kicked (redacted) (excessive force). Your day has come."

So what was Dorner's real threat? It wasn't just the nine-day rampage, where officers felt scared; it was that he specifically laid out a plan for violent reprisal against a department that was corrupt beyond repair. Importantly, he also demanded policy changes which would change the department so profoundly that it would be unrecognizable; it would dismantle the racist old-boys' club that is the LAPD. In this way Dorner committed the ultimate trespass, so he and his grievances (no matter how legitimate they were) had to be discredited completely. He practiced a form of resistance that was so dangerous that it could never be allowed to take root. As he tells us:

"Terminating officers because they expose a culture of lying, racism (from the academy), and excessive use of force will immediately change. PSB can not police their own and that has been proven. The blue line will forever be

severed and a cultural change will be implanted. You have awoken a sleeping giant.

"I am here to change and make policy. The culture of LAPD versus the community and honest/good officers needs to and will change. I am here to correct and calibrate your morale compasses to true north.

"Those Caucasian officers who join South Bureau divisions (77th,SW,SE, an Harbor) with the sole intent to victimize minorities who are uneducated, and unaware of criminal law, civil law, and civil rights. You prefer the South bureau because a use of force/deadly force is likely and the individual you use UOF on will likely not report it. You are a high value target.

"Those Black officers in supervisory ranks and pay grades who stay in south bureau (even though you live in the valley or OC) for the sole intent of getting retribution toward subordinate caucasians officers for the pain and hostile work environment their elders inflicted on you as probationers (P-1's) and novice P-2's. You are a high value target. You perpetuated the cycle of racism in the department as well. You breed a new generation of bigoted caucasian officer when you belittle them and treat them unfairly."

He goes on to list other types of officers who are high value targets because of their complicity in the department's corruption. He takes aim against the deep rot within the system, as well as the individuals who perpetuate it. But what made him spectacularly dangerous, and what made his revolutionary program so threatening, was his level of skill (which would be denigrated in the media), his knowledge of policing and warfare, his knowledge of the way the department worked, and his knowledge of his targets.

I won't dwell on the morality of Dorner's revolt. During his rampage he killed four people who had never personally known him: Monica Quan, Keith Lawrence, Michael Crain, and Jeremiah MacKay. That is nowhere near the amount of innocent lives that have been destroyed by the LAPD, and by police departments all across America. After Dorner's death he was depicted as a lunatic and the changes he wanted were laughed at by the media, while the victims of police violence reacted to the manhunt by

continuing their demands for reforms. There were some surprisingly nuanced discussions, one of them taking place on NPR shortly after the manhunt.[li]

In the larger trend I discuss in this book, the Dorner manhunt stands out as a powerful challenge to the national security state's narratives. I argue that the terrorist acts I discuss next were designed in part to erase Dorner's legacy, but also to manufacture consent for both a militarized law enforcement establishment and the unconstitutional surveillance measures of the intelligence community.

The San Bernardino Massacre

1. The Event

As the official story goes, on the morning of December 2, 2015, 72 San Bernardino County employees were engaged in a training event at the Inland Regional Center when one of them, 28-year-old Syed Farook, who had been looking distractedly at his phone, got up and left the building at around 10:30 AM. At 10:58 he and his 27-year-old wife, Tashfeen Malik, entered and began shooting at everyone in the room, killing 14 and wounding 22. In about three minutes they left in a rented Ford Expedition, and were later both killed by police at about 3:15 PM on a street about two miles away from the building.[lii] A year after the massacre, the FBI was still investigating whether the couple received outside assistance, and hadn't ruled out a third shooter.[liii] At around 5:00 that afternoon, authorities found three remote-controlled pipe bombs that Farook had left in a bag in the conference center. These bombs were of the exact same design as the ones used by the Tsarnaev brothers in the Boston bombing, and were apparently based on instructions in al Qaeda's Inspire Magazine.[liv]

The San Bernardino Police SWAT team happened to be engaged in a training exercise during the massacre, less than ten miles from the IRC at the Arrowhead Springs Hotel, and their response was quick. As one SWAT member said, they initially thought the attack was a part of the exercise. One thing that made the response effective was that medics had recently

been embedded in the SWAT teams and no longer had to wait for crime scenes to be cleared to begin helping victims. This was a result of a 2013 decision by President Obama, the International Association of Firefighters and FEMA.[lv]

In her 9/11 call that morning, IRC employee Sally Abdelmageed told the dispatcher that she saw "three men in military attire" enter the building and begin shooting.[lvi] Later that day, CBS News aired a phone interview with her, in which she reiterated her statement: three men wearing black military clothes, holding assault rifles, entered the Conference Center and began shooting.[lvii] After the official story circulated she later told ABC News, "I know what I saw."[lviii] Juan Hernandez, who was outside the IRC, also told ABC that he saw three men in military fatigues flee the scene in a dark SUV.[lix]

The FBI report on the event contains many eye-witness statements that raise questions. One witness said "(Redacted) was adamant that the shoes on FAROOK at the time of his death were not the shoes (redacted)." Was this a witness from the Conference Center, who was shown a picture of Farook's corpse? Did this witness notice that Farook's shoes were not the shoes the shooter was wearing?[lx]

Another report states: "(Redacted) stated that she did not believe it when she heard FAROOK was the shooter (redacted) described the white-colored skin that was exposed beneath the mask of the shooter distinctly different than FAROOK'S skin tone (redacted) did not believe that the shooter she observed was FAROOK."

Another report states: "Approximately 10:30 a.m. PT, the SUV was observed exiting the parking lot turning west onto Parkcenter Circle N. and turning onto Waterman Avenue. A 'white man with a tan' and a short beard, was driving the vehicle; no one else was seen in the SUV. The vehicle was driving normally from the parking lot."

Another report states that "(redacted) observed the vehicle immediately depart; therefore, made the assumption that a third individual must have been waiting in the driver's seat (redacted) stated that the Expedition drove

north through the small east side parking lot before turning right or east into the main parking lot."

Another witness describes three suspects:

"Suspect No. 1 was wearing black clothing. He had (redacted). She did not know if he was wearing a mask or any type of vest. She described Suspect No. 2 as wearing black with red clothing, possibly red tennis shoes, (redacted). She said he did not have a mask or a gun and looked bulky. Suspect No. 3 was wearing all black. She could not see if he was wearing a mask or a vest."

The FBI also redacted the actual descriptions of the shooters, which is mysterious to say the least. One report says: "(Redacted) provided additional details that she observed on December 2, 2016 (sic) regarding the physical description of shooter 1 (S1) and shooter 2 (S2):"

There are then two long redacted paragraphs. What possible reason could there be to leave this information out of the public record?

An enticing detail jumps out from the San Bernardino PD's police scanner, which was on YouTube years ago but has since been removed. At 12:45 an officer states "We do have one more RP call, two unknown race males removing black clothing at Hunts Lane at the bridge overpass." At 12:51 another officer reports that they have been to the scene and the males have departed. This location is 2.6 miles from the Inland Regional Center. Were these two of the "three men" seen by witnesses? Could they have been dropped off there by Farook and Malik as they were fleeing?

The FBI's timeline of Farook and Malik's whereabouts also raises questions. Farook arrived at the IRC at 8:48 AM, left at 10:37 and returned with Malik 19 minutes later at 10:56. They then began shooting at 10:58. The question is, where was Malik that morning? The townhome Farook shared with Malik and his mother was 7.2 miles away in Redlands. The drive would've taken around 13 minutes each way, and Malik didn't drive, so he couldn't have left her at home and she couldn't have driven there herself. Was she waiting in the black Ford Expedition for nearly two hours? Why didn't he

just enter with her and start shooting at 8:48 in the morning, when he first arrived at the Conference Center?

So at 11:04, when first responders arrived, the shooters were already gone. There's no evidence they had studied police response times, yet the attack was perfectly timed to avoid a confrontation with the police. And yet the two then drove aimlessly around the San Bernardino-Redlands area for the next four hours, never more than seven miles away from the IRC, when they could've been in Las Vegas or Mexico by that time, and they ended up dying in police gunfire.

The San Bernardino Sun has a detailed timeline of the shooters' whereabouts during the entire morning.[lxi] At 11:14 Tashfeen Malik, apparently from her phone in the panic of their flight, while in the Ford Expedition, made a post on Facebook pledging support for Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS. The couple had never before expressed interest in ISIS and their central inspiration was Anwar al-Awlaki and Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. The "three officials who were familiar with the case" did not explain how they knew Malik had made the posts, since she had made them under another name.[lxii] As ABC reported, Malik had to look up al-Baghdadi's name that morning before the massacre, around the time Farook was arriving at the IRC.[lxiii] At 11:40 the couple entered a gas station convenience store at 3rd Street and Waterman Avenue. At 11:45 AM they stopped at San Bernardino's Seccombe Lake Park, and between 12:59 and 1:17 PM there is an 18-minute gap in their whereabouts where no one knows what they were doing. Aside from this gap, authorities can place their location for the whole four-hour period as they basically drove in circles.

At 2:52 PM the couple drove past their own house in Redlands, where police were sure to be located, and were chased to a location in San Bernardino, at San Bernardino Avenue near Sheddon Drive, where the couple opened fire on the authorities and were killed.

Their actions make little sense. What was the goal? Why did they do it? How did they think it would all end?

2. Syed Farook and Tashfeen Malik: Who Were They?

Syed Rizwan Farook was born in 1987 in Chicago to Pakistani parents. His father, an abusive alcoholic, moved back to Pakistan after his mother divorced him in 2006. Farook had a brother, Syed Raheel, and a sister, Rafia. His father, also named Syed, rarely had a steady job and routinely threatened to kill himself.[lxiv]

Farook's childhood was by all accounts characterized by violence, poverty and instability, and his mother struggled to support the family with a job at the Kaiser facility in Riverside. It was in Riverside in 2005 where Farook befriended his younger neighbor, Enrique Marquez, Jr., who would end up buying the assault weapons that were used in the attack. According to the federal government's criminal complaint against Marquez, Farook convinced his friend to convert to Islam in 2007. Farook discussed Islam with Marquez and by 2011 Farook and Marquez had become intensely interested in AQAP in Yemen and the works of Anwar al-Awlaki, as well as the Tablighi Jamaat movement.[lxv]

According to the Counter Extremism Project, "Farook may have also had some degree of online contact with members of the Somali al-Qaeda affiliate al-Shabab, as well as al-Qaeda's former affiliate the Nusra Front, according to an unnamed federal investigator." This is a cryptic reminder that Farook's influences and contacts in the years of his growing radicalization are still not fully understood.[lxvi]

In 2011 Farook and Marquez began explicitly planning acts of terrorism, among them shootings on the 91 freeway and at Riverside City College. For these planned attacks Marquez purchased explosive materials, firearms and ammunition on multiple occasions in 2011 and 2012, and they went to gun ranges to practice for these attacks. Despite the fact that al-Awlaki's work was the dominant motivation for Farook, the US's response to the attacks was mainly focused on Islamic State, apparently due to Malik's social media posts on the morning of the attack.[lxvii]

Although they stopped their terrorist planning around 2012, the two stayed in contact through 2015, and in 2014 Marquez married the sister of Farook's brother's wife so she could get her green card. The family paid Marquez $200 a month for this, and the family was prosecuted in the wake of the massacre after Marquez turned himself in to police. But what stands out is the reason that Marquez allegedly wanted to stop his terrorist plans with Farook: He had connections to a group of local men who were arrested on terrorism charges.[lxviii]

In November 2012 Ralph Deleon, Sahiel Omar Kabir, Miguel Vidriales, and Arifeen David Gojali (aka the "California Jihadists") were arrested and charged with plotting to provide material support to terrorists and to kill American personnel. The four were operating out of the Inland Empire and they were apprehended by the Riverside Joint Terrorism Task Force.[lxix] An FBI informant named Mohammad Hammad, who at one time was convicted of trafficking one of the ingredients of methamphetamine, was paid $380,000 for his work enticing the young men into making plans to buy weapons and travel to Afghanistan. The California Jihadists' defense attorneys described the young men as "harmless pot smokers" but nevertheless they were all convicted and faced harsh prison sentences.[lxx]

It is still unclear to what extent Marquez knew the California Jihadists, but we can assume there was not a huge community of young Islamic men talking about jihad in the Inland Empire, so whatever like-minded people in the area knew each other. How deeply did informants penetrate into this world? As we will see later, in the decades following 9/11, the FBI has been so aggressive in Southern California that many Muslims in the Southern California area just assume the person praying next to them is an informant. This undoubtedly stems from the fact that the first 9/11 hijackers to arrive in the United States, Nawaf al Hazmi and Khalid al Mihdhar, lived in San Diego for over a year while they planned 9/11, and while they did so they were assisted by a network of Saudis who were connected to Saudi intelligence and Saudi ambassador to the United States Prince Bandar. And even before that, al-Awlaki, the imam who was Farook's inspiration (eventually killed by the CIA in 2011), came out of the San Diego Muslim community and knew the hijackers. So the Southern California Islamic community has clearly been a focus of FBI counterterrorism efforts since

then. What is strange indeed is that an FBI informant named Abdusattar Shaikh, who was ostensibly supposed to be preventing terrorism, let the two hijackers live in his home in East San Diego.[lxxi]

Who else was Farook in contact with as he became radicalized? As NBC reported two days after the massacre, "Authorities told NBC News Thursday that Farook appeared to have been radicalized and had been in touch with people in the Los Angeles area who have expressed jihadi-oriented views. Intelligence sources said he appeared to have been in communication with people overseas who are of interest to U.S. authorities." This evidence was gleaned from cell phones and computers found inside Farook's townhome in Redlands.[lxxii] NBC also reported that Farook had taken out a $28,500 bank loan just weeks before the attack, and most intriguingly, neighbors had seen a number of people coming and going from Farook's garage, where he and Malik kept a large amount of ammunition and bomb-making materials.[lxxiii] The DOJ's COPS report on the massacre reinforces this: "...during interviews with neighbors following the incident, concerns were expressed over the number of people coming and going, along with late-night work in the home's garage."[lxxiv] Who were these people? The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Farook had been in contact via phone and social media with people who had been involved tangentially in other federal terrorism investigations, which is intriguing.[lxxv] The couple destroyed or encrypted their phones and computer hard drives, and shredded documents. Farook's mother even shredded a hand-drawn map of the IRC that showed the couple's plan for their massacre. Who else could have been involved in their plot, and what were they all trying to hide?[lxxvi]

So how could the government have accessed Farook? Well, take this example: In 2006 and 2007 the FBI paid an informant named Craig Monteilh to spy on Muslims in Orange County. He pretended to convert to Islam, befriended dozens of Muslims at various mosques, and recorded conversations inside mosques and homes. Once he had gained the trust of the community he began to aggressively talk about jihad and tried to engage people in terrorist acts. He was giving personal information on all of his acquaintances to the FBI the whole time. As one of Monteilh's victims said, "The FBI was not monitoring individuals. The FBI was monitoring the

entire community." The FBI started this practice in Southern California in 2001.[lxxvii]

How else could the government access data on Farook and Malik? Recall that Farook and Malik met online through a dating website. It has been revealed that the DOD's U.S. Special Operations Command, which deals with counter-terrorism, bought location data from the Muslim dating apps Muslim Mingle and Muslim Pro.[lxxviii] Many would-be Islamic radicals are entrapped by FBI informants in online forums. In April of 2024, an 18-year-old named Alexander Mercurio was charged by the FBI with aiding and assisting ISIS after being enticed into terrorist plots online by three informants, one undercover agent, and one "FBI Online Covert Employee." [lxxix]

There are myriad ways that Farook and Malik could've been accessed by informants, and there are ways that Malik, as an immigrant, could be used as an informant (as many immigrants are). The story of Boston bomber Tamerlan Tsarnaev may provide some insight into this possibility. According to author Michelle McPhee, Tsarnaev shouldn't have been able to apply to be a citizen, since he was on several terror watch lists and had been arrested. However, there is evidence that he had been radicalized while in Russia, and the FBI told the Department of Homeland Security's U.S. Citizenship and Immigrant Services (USCIS) to fast-track his visa so that he could come to America and work as an informant. In Malik's own experience with USCIS we will see parallels.[lxxx]

So who was Tashfeen Malik and how did she become radicalized? Here the information becomes much more scarce. In the days following the massacre CNN reported a few details: She had been born to a family of wealthy landowners in Pakistan, she later moved to Saudi Arabia, and from 2007 to 2012 she moved back to Pakistan to study pharmacology. Several people who had known her as a student in Pakistan mentioned that she wasn't a devout Muslim, didn't pray five times a day, knew little about the Quran, did not seem to be radicalized and could not have been responsible for Farook's radicalization. CNN reported that she and Farook met on a dating site, and the first time they met in person was during his trip to Saudi Arabia in 2013, and they married during a second trip to Saudi Arabia. She

then arrived in America on a "fiancee visa" in July 2014 and became a legal permanent resident.[lxxxi]

But in these few details is a conundrum: She shouldn't have been given the fiancee visa in the first place, because contrary to the initial CNN report, she and Farook probably never met in person before they got married. In a letter written weeks after the massacre, House Judiciary chair Bob Goodlatte (R-Virginia) outlined the problems with the visa that the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services issued to Tashfeen Malik in 2013: The application did not provide sufficient evidence that the two met in person during Farook's visit to Saudi Arabia, and "What is worse, the immigration official reviewing Malik's application requested more evidence to ensure the two met in person but it was never provided and her visa was approved anyway...Additionally, Malik's Saudi Arabian visa was good for only 60 days, so this would cast doubt on the claim that the two were in Saudi Arabia at the same time. And even if Farook and Malik met in Saudi Arabia, there is insufficient evidence in the file for USCIS to have made that determination."[lxxxii]

Indeed, it is evident from the application that while the couple claimed to have met in Saudi Arabia on October 3rd, 2013, Malik's entry visa was not given until October 5th.[lxxxiii]

Malik was native to the town of Karor Lal Esan in Pakistan, and one anonymous family member said that after she spent a few years in college, she became religious, her Facebook posting made her family nervous. At that time she began communicating with someone on the internet in Arabic and since no one in the family spoke Arabic (they spoke Urdu and the Pakistani dialect Saraiki) no one knew what she was talking about.[lxxxiv] After the 2014 marriage in Saudi Arabia, the couple then had a ceremony at the Islamic Center of Riverside and a few hundred people attended. Who were these people? It seems that Farook did not have a big family, and so they must have been fellow Islamic community members, or people from the Islamic Center of Riverside. Malik wore a veil most of the time throughout college and after her arrival in the U.S.

Malik's Facebook post in support of the leader of ISIS, which she inexplicably wrote immediately after the attack, served to focus the national discussion on the threat of ISIS, whose main danger lies in the fact that they don't direct terrorism around the world, but merely inspire it from afar, according to one former counterterrorism official for Bush and Obama.[lxxxv] But strangely, as journalist Max Blumenthal has noted, "Obama and both parties in Congress authorized the CIA's Operation Timber Sycamore to spend billions of US taxpayer dollars to arm the equivalent of the Taliban in Syria. This program fueled the rise of ISIS and Al Nusra and US liberals mostly cheered it on."[lxxxvi] And as he has also noted, the U.S. "is fighting the forces most opposed to ISIS, and doing so under the bogus pretext of fighting ISIS."[lxxxvii]

3. The Politics of San Bernardino

The discussion of Tashfeen Malik and Syed Farook and their motivations leads us naturally to the wider political context of the massacre. It is instructive to examine the reactions to the massacre from the intelligence community, the law enforcement community, and political leaders in congress as well as the Obama administration; but it is equally instructive to examine the political leadup to the massacre, because all of this will show us the larger goals of our government and how the massacre fit into those goals.

The Department of Justices' Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program produced a 162-page analysis of the authorities' response to the massacre that provides insight, insofar as it shows us the priorities of the DOJ and the ways that terrorism fits into those priorities. As the report states:

"Many of the lessons learned during the response on December 2, 2015, continue to build on the body of knowledge that exists to assist law enforcement agencies in their mission to protect and strengthen relationships with their community. Many of the lessons tie into the principles of community policing. As the Police Foundation continues to

work to advance policing through innovation, it is no surprise that the lessons learned on that day tie to the ideals of 21st century policing."[lxxxviii]

It may not be unimportant that, as the report states, in 2014 San Bernardino had one of the highest violent crime rates in the nation. What better staging ground for testing and refining law enforcement practices than one of the most dangerous cities in the country? One of the major goals of the post-9/11 era is to get multiple agencies to work together seamlessly in their fight against terrorism - the Department of Homeland Security was created for this purpose, and the mysterious "Fusion Centers" (to be discussed later) that have arisen in many cities are a recent attempt at this. The COPS report lists all the agencies that had to work together on the day of the massacre, and chronicles successes and challenges they faced. In this way the massacre has served to create a mandate for increased cooperation between city, state and federal entities. The list of agencies is daunting:

San Bernardino Police Department
San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department
California Highway Patrol
Colton Police Department
Fontana Police Department
Inland Valley Regional SWAT
Redlands Police Department
Rialto Police Department
Inland Counties Emergency Medical Agency
Ontario Fire Department Explosive Ordnance Disposal
San Bernardino City Fire Department/San Bernardino County Fire
San Bernardino City Unified School District
San Bernardino County District Attorney's Office
San Bernardino County Probation

The ATF and the Department of Homeland Security was also involved. Regarding the FBI's involvement, the report says:

"The FBI leads a number of Joint Terrorism Task Forces that bring together representatives of local, state, and federal agencies to pursue terrorism leads, develop and investigate cases, support special events, and identify

threats that may impact the area and nation. A satellite of the FBl's Los Angeles office, the Inland Empire Joint Terrorism Task Force, covers San Bernardino. This task force has full-time members from the Riverside County Sheriff's Office, Riverside Police Department, San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Homeland Security Investigations unit, and the U.S. Attorney's Office. Relationships are also maintained with all other departments in the area.

"The FBI responded immediately to the scene and provided mutual aid and support at the incident command and tactical support through executive management personnel, SWAT agents, special agent bomb technicians, and investigators. In addition, FBI personnel conducted the evidence recovery efforts at the IRC and subject residences. The FBI became the lead investigative agency once the shooting at the IRC was determined to have been a terrorist event."[lxxxix]

Here we need to discuss the problematic "Fusion Centers" that arose after 9/11. In response to the new terror crisis and the need to consolidate governmental powers, the FBI created Joint Terror Task Forces, with offices in many major cities, including Riverside, where Farook lived. But around 2006 these JTTF centers were augmented by the creation of counter-terrorist Fusion Centers where many local, state, and federal agencies work in cooperation with private businesses under the auspices of the DHS. The problem is that it's totally unclear who these Fusion Centers report to, or who really controls them. In 2007 the ACLU reported the following problems:

" Private Sector Participation. Fusion centers are incorporating private-sector corporations into the intelligence process, breaking down the arm's length relationship that protects the privacy of innocent Americans who are employees or customers of these companies, and increasing the risk of a data breach.
"Military Participation. Fusion centers are involving military personnel in law enforcement activities in troubling ways.
"Data Fusion = Data Mining. Federal fusion center guidelines encourage whole sale data collection and manipulation processes that threaten privacy.

"Excessive Secrecy. Fusion centers are hobbled by excessive secrecy, which limits public oversight, impairs their ability to acquire essential information and impedes their ability to fulfill their stated mission, bringing their ultimate value into doubt.

"The lack of proper legal limits on the new fusion centers not only threatens to undermine fundamental American values, but also threatens to turn them into wasteful and misdirected bureaucracies that, like our federal security agencies before 9/1, won't succeed in their ultimate mission of stopping terrorism and other crime."[xc]

The Fusion Center that would've been in operation during the massacre is the Joint Regional Intelligence Center, which serves the counties of Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Santa Barbara, and which was used during the Dorner manhunt. Their mission is the following: "The Joint Regional Intelligence Center (JRIC) is a partnership between federal, state, and local law enforcement and public safety agencies. We receive, integrate, analyze, and share threat intelligence with partners to help them detect, deter, and defend against terrorist attacks and major criminal threats."[xci]

Their history:

"Building upon recommendations of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (the 9-11 Commission), the JRIC was established in 2006 as part of the California State Threat Assessment System (STAS). In 2010, the JRIC and the Joint Drug Intelligence Group (JDIG) component of the Los Angeles High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (LA HIDTA) merged to create a consolidated, regional all-crimes intelligence entity. The center follows guidelines established by the US Department of Justice and US Department of Homeland Security, and contributes to the national Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan."

So we see that the DHS has created a web of law enforcement and intelligence gathering services with enormous power and little accountability, with an institutional need to preserve their legitimacy in the eyes of the public, and to increase their secrecy and their power.

We have discussed the national legitimacy crisis suffered by law enforcement following 2013 - but as we've discussed, in February of that year, on a local level, the Christopher Dorner manhunt occurred. Did the Dorner experience precipitate a follow-up crisis event that would ensure that the cops looked like heroes? The COPS report found that it was the multi-agency response to Dorner's rampage that caused them to be so effective during the 2015 massacre:

"Following the Dorner incident, San Bernardino area agency leaders held monthly meetings to work through some of the specific challenges identified in the critical incident review. Those challenges included self-deployment, disparate training, and poor communication. The relationships built thereafter remained strong and contributed to smooth collaboration between multiple agencies during the December 2 terrorist attack. Many of the public safety leaders involved in both the Dorner response and the San Bernardino response found that because they had thoroughly studied and addressed the challenges identified in previous reviews, their response to the terrorist attack was improved. During the December 2, 2015, attacks, officers from different departments grouped together instantly and entered the IRC, self-deployment was more controlled by local protocols, and area leadership had pre-existing relationships that allowed them to make decisions quickly."[xcii]

But on a national level, the fallout from the massacre involved what some have called "Cryptowars 2.0," and this provides clues as to how the massacre fit into the intelligence community's larger goals. After the massacre the FBI found Farook's work-issued iPhone during their investigation (he and Malik had apparently destroyed their personal phones). The FBI, unable to gain access to the phone, sued Apple to provide them with a backdoor entry to the phone, and a public battle ensued in which Apple refused on grounds that they couldn't provide access even if they wanted to, which they didn't. The FBI ended up using an Australian firm named Azimuth Security to hack into the phone, and later it was revealed that no valuable information was found in it. Surely the FBI couldn't have expected Farook to have any of his terrorist plans or information about any possible third party conspirators on his work phone, when he and his wife had diligently remembered to destroy all their other

devices.[xciii] But what is interesting about the story is how much buildup there was to this battle before the massacre took place. In the nineties, when the internet was in its infancy, the Clinton administration made no requirements for technology providers to ensure that devices were encrypted, and simultaneously relaxed all restrictions on encryption, which was difficult to provide in the first place. However, the NSA and the FBI aggressively demanded that the tech industry provide them with access to all devices. One idea was that all communications technology would come with an NSA-designed chip and the promise was that the intelligence and law enforcement communities would somehow respect everyone's privacy and access to everyone's information would be lawful. The government luckily never got what they wanted, and encryption became cheaper and easier to install, and in the era of smart phones it became standard and end-to-end encryption threatened to become a genie that could not be put back in the bottle. As the government saw this happening their desperation to stop it became more and more intense, and after the Snowden leaks the intelligence community waged an all-out war to reclaim legitimacy and resume their invasion of privacy.[xciv]

In October 2014, FBI director James Comey opined in a speech at the Brookings Institution that “We have the legal authority to intercept and access communications and information pursuant to a court order, but we often lack the technical ability to do that...Encryption isn’t just a technical feature; it’s a marketing pitch. But it will have very serious consequences for law enforcement and national security agencies at all levels. Sophisticated criminals will come to count on these means of evading detection. It’s the equivalent of a closet that can’t be opened. A safe deposit box that can’t be opened. A safe that can’t ever be cracked. And my question is, at what cost?"[xcv]

In August 2015, just four months before the massacre, Robert Litt, the top lawyer for the intelligence community, said that anti-encryption legislation would garner support "in the event of a terrorist attack or criminal event where strong encryption can be shown to have hindered law enforcement." He recommended "keeping our eyes open for such a situation."[xcvi]

Then in December the San Bernardino massacre happened.

What may have added desperation to the intelligence community crisis of legitimacy is the fact that Oliver Stone's movie *Snowden* was originally scheduled to be released on December 25, 2015, but at the last moment was delayed until 2016.[xcvii] Think for a moment about the public effect of Stone's romanticization of Snowden as a kind of modern day Robin Hood, and then think about how important it would be to counteract this.

After the massacre, in August of 2016, San Bernardino County Sheriff John McMahon and Orlando Police Chief John Mina (the Orlando nightclub shooting had just occurred a month earlier), along with other American law enforcement chiefs, participated in an intensive, weeklong anti-terrorism course in Israel. This course was led by Israeli Defense Force officials. So there is a feedback loop in which we send billions to Israel every year; our law enforcement officials preside over dubious acts of "terrorism"; and then those same officials go to Israel to get support and strategies from one of the world's most notorious occupation forces.[xcviii]

I won't dwell too much on hypothetical narratives about the San Bernardino Massacre here. You can supply them yourself. I just want to show the way this event fits into the larger needs and goals of the intelligence and law enforcement communities, and the reasons we have to believe that Syed Farook and Tashfeen Malik didn't act alone; in addition to this, I hope I have shown that the authorities can and have engineered events of this type, and have reaped the benefits. To use Frank Wisner's phrase, they have played us like a mighty wurlitzer.

The Las Vegas Massacre

1. The Event

Here I must introduce a caveat: I will not invent a narrative and try to sell it as alternative history - such a theory, presented without proof, would so easily become a joke or a meme that it could instantly discredit this whole line of inquiry. I may discuss potential scenarios, but I will do so briefly. I

invite you to invent all the narratives you want if that is how you are inclined. Since this is not intended to be a narrative, but rather an investigation, I aim to keep this focused on the evidence that I find pertinent.

I have covered the basics of the event itself. Let's start with the initial reports from the police scanner.[xcix] Keep in mind that Paddock was only shooting from 10:05 to 10:16, when he shot and killed himself.

At 10:08, about three minutes after the shooting started, Las Vegas police first got reports of a shooter at the Route 91 music festival, in the Las Vegas Village fairgrounds. The first report on the location of the shooter is that shots are coming from halfway up the Mandalay Bay, and shortly after that it's reported that there is a shooter inside the fairgrounds. Then it's reported that there's a 413 (person with a gun) at the convention center, and then that there is a shooter near gate 7 of the fairgrounds. Police, arriving at the scene, then start reporting multiple people with gunshots in the head and the chest. Keep in mind that Paddock was on the 32nd floor and about a block away from the festival. It is true that he calculated the distance and drop of the bullets to maximize his accuracy - but the multiple head shots are still impressive, considering that he was not a professional marksman.[c] After this, police say they are hearing from multiple witnesses that there are as many as three shooters, firing from inside the fairgrounds.

Around 10:26 police report shots on the 29th floor and the 32nd floor (this is from Mandalay Bay security). Then at 10:30 an officer reports that he and other witnesses have just seen a black Chevy truck "rip out of the parking lot" east of the Excalibur (a block away from the festival) and head south towards the Delano Las Vegas. Then at around 10:42 it's reported that pedestrians have seen an older white male in black fatigues carrying a black bag come from the area of the shooting and enter a white RV by the Motel 6 next to Tropicana.

Shortly after Paddock's death, reports of active shooters start to come in from all around the strip. According to the LVMPD, "Distraction calls occurred at various locations along Las Vegas Boulevard, beginning as early as 10:37 P.M. and ending on October 2 just after 1 A.M."[ci] About an

hour after Paddock's death, on the police scanner there is a report of an active shooter in New York, New York, with two people down. Then two minutes later another active shooter is reported at Tropicana, and a bomb threat at Luxor. Then two more shots are reported in the park area of New York, New York, and additional shots at Aria. Officers quickly arrive at New York, New York and report that no shots have been fired, and more officers arrive at Tropicana and report that no shots have been fired, even as reports keep coming in that shots have indeed been fired there.

Around 11:30 there are reports of shots fired at the Caesars and the Bellagio, and then reports of a man with a gun at Paris, and "people running everywhere." Then shots are reported at Planet Hollywood, and a man is seen running on the roof at Tropicana near the valet area. Then around 11:42 there's a report of a male walking into the Bellagio employee entrance with a rifle.[cii] Then around 11:50, a citizen reports that a man with a rifle just got out of a white pickup truck and ran down the street, wearing a dark shirt, tan pants, backpack and a leg holster.

Then, intriguingly, there are reports that a white male in a black t-shirt with a long rifle is going into multiple casinos and clearing people out, and the officer says this man “may be the one causing all this pandemonium.” Then at around midnight there is another report of suspect with a rifle at an undisclosed location, and more shots are reported at Bellagio.

So let's augment this with witness statements.[ciii] This will by no means by an exhaustive or complete account; the thousands of witnesses make it a daunting task. I have selected enough statements to hopefully show that there were groups of people firing either live rounds or blanks up and down the Strip that night. As Oklahoma City Bombing researcher Richard Booth has told me, he believes events like these are perpetrated by former members of the armed forces who have been accused of war crimes or have been compromised or blackmailed in some way, and are coerced into participating in these "Domestic Gladio" events in order to make the charges go away. It's not out of the question in my mind: The federal government has been to known to use coercion to force recent immigrants to work as informants, because if they refuse, they will be sent home and their visa can be denied.[civ]

The following report is hard to explain away:

"Um, so we ran across the street and that's when I saw it but she didn't see it. There was a - so by Reno there was a bunch of cop cars. And then closer to where the exit were there was a bunch of cop cars. I'm walking in between, there's a guy dressed in black holding, like, a giant black rifle in his hand...And he had his hands up, like, he was, like, surrendering. Um, and everybody just kept yelling, like, 'Oh my gosh. That's the shooter,' or, 'That's one of them. He's surrendering. He's surrendering.' Um, I don't know what that was...So when I started seeing him, - I can't remember that street but it was at the corner of Reno and that street. And there's cops in-between. And, like, he was moving slowly, like, not in a rush. Calm, puts his hands up. And I didn't see anybody go after him but we weren't really paying attention to be honest with you."

One witness waiting for a bus on Las Vegas Boulevard and Hacienda was told by a man on the street at around 10:00 to "say a prayer before what's about to happen tonight." This man asked the witness if he was going to the festival and then asked him how to get a ticket.

Other witnesses heard shots coming from a cul-de-sac on Reno Drive; others said it "sounded like more than one shooter"; one woman saw a suspicious man get on the elevator at the Delano at around 1:30 that afternoon carrying six large steel cases and one long black case. One witness described very lax security, compared to other festivals, and one witness said that "We all thought it was like someone in the venue just like spinning in circles just like shooting"; another said they "heard shots that sounded right next to me." Another witness was standing behind a man in military clothes who was with a woman and reported that they were acting really, really strange and left about ten minutes before the shooting began. Yet another witness remembers hiding under the stage and hearing people say "He's coming towards us, he's coming towards us." This witness was later at the entrance to the House of Blues when he was shot in the arm. Strangely, if you look at the trajectory of Paddock's gunfire and a map of the Strip, the House of Blues is not visible from the window where he was overlooking the festival.

Another witness reported two women talking at the concert before the shooting. The first woman said, "These stupid fucking white people, they are going to know how it feels. They deserve this. Wait until later." The second woman replied, "Like shooting fish in a barrel." And another witness repeated the earlier claim about lax security, stating that on the 3rd day of the festival security was practically nonexistent and just before the shooting, all the workers and security disappeared and anyone could enter the festival.

Concertgoer Kimberley Suchomel left a long account on her Facebook page that specifically described shooters within the fairgrounds that were chasing people:

Cassie & Mendy were together.
We were rounding some sort of corner maybe- and I looked to the right and I saw this large cowboy sitting down with his legs spread, holding a blood-soaked woman. I thought to myself "we NEED to hide", but as I looked quickly for somewhere to go, the gunfire once again got closer and closer. We couldn't hide because they (and I do mean THEY) were chasing us.

That exact moment is when I started to really panic. That is the exact moment in which I thought this was it, I was going to die, I was never going to see my family again. So, as we are running, we approach this fence where men are throwing women over, and we ran up to it as they had knocked It down, so we were able to get out. As we crossed the threshold of the venue, my mind went straight to other mass shootings and hearing the victim's families in my head talk about how they never got to say goodbye. I did not want this for my husband (who was at work) & my grandma (who had my daughter, Scarlett). So, at 10:07pm I called my husband franticly leaving him a voicemail- telling him that I loved him and was in the middle of a shooting & I wasn't sure if I would make it out alive. Next, while still running, I called my grandma to tell her the exact same thing. But the gunfire wasn't stopping this whole time. It wasn't ceasing. It wasn't slowing down.

And It was directly behind us, following us. Bullets were coming from every direction. Behind us, in front of us, to the side of us. But I know, I just know, that there was someone chasing us. The entire time I felt this way. The farther we got from the venue, the closer the gunfire got. I kept looking back expecting to see the gunmen- and I say MEN because there was more than one person. There was more than one gun firing. 100% more than one.

As we were running, we kept changing direction, because it felt like no matter what direction we took, we were being followed. So we ended up running in a weird triangular path. The first place I remember getting to was a parking lot, and I told Casie (who was slightly in front of me) we needed to get under one of the trucks. She turned to me and started her way back to me, and that is when the gunfire got even CLOSER than ever before. It was RIGHT THERE. It was within the parking lot. Everyone around us was panicking once again. So we ditched the idea of getting underneath a vehicle, and we continued the run for our lives. If you know me, you know I am a big girl, who is out of shape, and who definitely does not run for any reason. But I can tell you I ran like I have never run before.

The 2nd place I remember going by was Hooters- which is where we met back up with the rest of our small group. We ran towards the entrance thinking we could take cover there, but as we got closer, a stampede of people ran out, terrified. We could only conclude that there was another gunman inside of that hotel. This made us even more scared- we had nowhere to go- no one to trust. At some point, we ended up at the airport & even entered the building for safety. Everyone as we entered were screaming at the staff "IS IT SAFE IN HERE?" but we weren't getting anyone to answer us, so after running about 30 feet into the building, not getting the answers we so desperately needed, we decided it, too, wasn't a safe spot, so we got out of there quickly and continued running. After all this running, we were tired, sore & having to stop to cough, gag and even vomit. We ran across an intersection & us & another group of people pleaded with a limo driver to let us in and get us out of there. He was clearly confused & didn't understand what was going on, so he didn't let us in.[cv]

Her account goes on, but I think it's clear what she experienced. Suchomel died of unrelated causes just days after surviving the massacre.

Some people reported that helicopters were firing on them from above. As two witnesses told the LVMPD about the direction of the bullets:

MB: "I could tell they were high...And I...I could tell they were coming from the right first I thought. But then the helicopters were there...And then it got really confusing and I had the same thought that she did...Apparently that they were shooting from all the helicopters."

LM: "I felt it was coming - I felt someone was in those helicopters with a..."

MB: "Shooting down."

LM: "...shooting down like this."

MB: "But you could tell it was coming down."[cvi]

It would seem that more people would have reported helicopters if they were in fact there. Could these two have been mistaking drones for helicopters?

The 911 calls from that night are also illuminating because of the immediacy of the witnesses' experiences. These are so numerous that a few should suffice, and if you are interested I encourage you to listen. Fortunately these are posted on YouTube.[cvii]

At 11:23 that night, a woman reports that there was shooting inside the Bellagio in the casino itself, and that she had heard the shooting just two minutes previously.

At 11:26 a man reports that he heard two shots inside the Bellagio.

At 11:27 a woman at the Cosmopolitan reports that she heard gunshots but didn't see the shooter.

At 11:27 another woman who is staying at the Four Seasons Hotel reports a single gunshot in the room next to her just one minute previously, followed by two more shots. There was no screaming or anything.

At 11:28 a terrified and breathless woman named Elizabeth reports that she heard shooting on the hotel floor at Planet Hollywood.

At 11:30 a man reports that he "absolutely, one hundred percent" heard shots at the Excalibur.

At 1:25 in the morning of the 2nd, when all the chaos was apparently over, a man named Ahmed called 911 and reported that he saw two shooters enter the Delano casino near the bar from a hallway. They were carrying automatic rifles and dressed in tactical gear. He moved away from the hallway and they shot multiple rounds as he went towards the elevator, at which point he got on the elevator and left. He said they were light-skinned and around 5'10" or 6 feet tall. One wore cargo khaki pants and a long sleeve tan button down shirt. The other man wore the same khaki pants and a long sleeve, button down red flannel shirt.[cviii]

Another witness who left the concert said that "As I was walking up Tropicana, an MGM security stopped me and told me to turn around, because another active shooter was coming down the escalator."[cix]

Another witness described leaving the concert and running into the lobby at MGM: "Important: As we were running there was a man on the right side of us, tucked into an alcove, filming us and laughing evilly. Then as we were close to the end there was another male - Middle Eastern guy filming us 'horizontally' with his phone laughing at everyone. Staring at us. It was very suspicious to us and we felt we had to report. I would estimate it was 10:45-11:15. Somewhere in there. Down the Restaurant Row. As we saw the last guy it was before we found the hallway to the left side to get into an escalator (flat). The guys in the hall are very concerning to me and think it should be investigated." Another witness describes these same exact men in the same location, and says it was clear they were already in Restaurant Row, waiting for people to start running there.

Yet another, a fifteen-year-old girl, described running from Hooters towards the MGM and said it sounded like the gunshots were at ground level.[cx]

Another wrote "BELIEVE TO SAW A SHOOTER NO BIGGER THAN 5'6" SHOOTING INSIDE EVENT, ALSO ANOTHER SHOOTER INSIDE MANDALAY BAY ROOM."[cxi]

I am agnostic on whether there were shooters inside the concert grounds itself. There are abundant witness statements to this effect, and it is plausible, but the situation was so chaotic that it's hard to know for sure what people witnessed. The problem is that any shooters inside the concert grounds would have been likely targets of Paddock himself. What is clear to me is that there was a group of people who participated in this event alongside Paddock; they went to multiple casinos at the same time; they fired multiple gunshots and left immediately, before police arrived. The goal was not just to kill people, it was also to cause panic among the public and to distract police, or to test their responses.

2. Stephen Paddock

Paddock's father Benjamin was a bank robber who was known as alternately as Chrome Dome, Big Daddy and Old Baldy. In 1960 he was arrested for a bank robbery in Phoenix and sent to prison, and by some accounts that was the last time Stephen ever saw him. A 1971 news article describes neighbors taking the seven-year-old Stephen fishing while the FBI searched the family's house - this would've been in 1960, just before the arrest. In 1969 the elder Paddock escaped from prison and was on the FBI's Most Wanted List until 1977. He was finally arrested in 1978.[cxii] It seems possible that the family was under FBI surveillance during this time, in the chance that Paddock would contact them.

Paddock's work history is still a bit patchy. While Paddock was a student at Cal State Northridge he worked as a letter carrier for the U.S. Postal Service from 1975 to '77, while his father was still on the FBI's wanted list. He then worked for the IRS from 1978 to 1984,[cxiii] and then for defense contractor Morton-Thiokol in Orlando at some point, and from 1985 to 1988 he

worked for a predecessor to Lockheed Martin as an auditor for defense contracts. Incidentally Morton-Thiokol was the contractor that built the defective O ring that caused the Challenger space shuttle disaster in 1986. [cxiv] Another source says Paddock worked as an auditor for the Defense Contract Auditing agency, which "provides audit and financial advisory services to the Department of Defense (DoD) and other federal entities responsible for acquisition and contract administration."[cxv]

But what fascinates me is that Paddock grew up under the watchful eyes of the FBI and worked for the government and for defense contractors for over a decade; so he was on the radar of the federal government in various capacities for the first 35 years of his life.

Paddock then invested in real estate, owning several apartment complexes and quietly amassing a small fortune. One acquaintance sheds some light on Paddock's methodical nature as early as 2013. The partner of Paddock's girlfriend's sister met Paddock several times in the US and the Phillipines and recalled that he knew the 2nd Amendment very thoroughly, possessed a gun room and was very caring and generous.[cxvi] From most accounts, Paddock was a fairly happy, generous, kind and healthy person until his slow decline in 2016 and 2017. Yet he remained methodical in the way he planned the massacre and acquired his guns, and the goal was simply to kill as many people as possible.

I will now examine his gambling career, because it will help us understand just how much of Paddock's data would've been available to the casinos and the federal government. When I say data, I don't just mean dry facts about his life - I'm talking about a full personality profile. By devoting so much of his time to gambling, he perhaps unknowingly placed an enormous amount of his personal data and his behavior patterns into the hands of multiple private corporations and federal agencies.

It is not clear when Paddock began gambling, but he had already been gambling for some years when he filed a lawsuit against the Cosmopolitan in Las Vegas in 2012 when he fell there, and in 2014 when he paid cash for a house in Mesquite, Nevada, he told real estate agents that he spent $1 million a year gambling.[cxvii] His game of choice was video poker, which

has the unique quality that it can be outsmarted by a good gambler. The *New Yorker* described the game, as well as Paddock's gaming habits in detail, and apparently he was not at the level where he could outsmart the game, but he was a fairly good high roller with a six figure line of credit at many of the casinos. The game is a favorite of gambling addicts and Paddock would spend hours playing it; when he wasn't playing, casino workers said he would stare intensely at others who were playing. By the last year of his life it appears that he was losing more money than usual at the casinos, so if he had been on top of his game at one point, that success was behind him.[cxviii]

So what kind of information would the casinos be recording on Paddock? As one study puts it,

"It is not just that every camera in a casino is connected to recorders that document the life of a casino nonstop. Specialized software tracks chips and specific cards. Pit bosses know which tables are turning a profit and which ones are losing. Moreover, casino patrons can be tracked via player's club cards. The player's club cards - similar to airline loyalty programs - allow subscribers to earn credits each time the card is used in a casino that participates in the program. Cardholders can put credit on the card and use it in lieu of cash to gamble. Purveyors of the cards urge participants to keep the card inserted in the slot machine or to hand it off to a dealer for table games."[cxix]

Paddock and Danley both had players' club cards at Mandalay Bay, and used them every time they gambled. As one Mandalay Bay employee told the LVMPD,

"We keep records on their Red Card account which is the system that we use to track all the comps and everything. We - make notes on each individual account, like, things they like and, um, mainly it's just, uh, the amenities that they like. You know, some - some for high-end guests we provide amenities when they check in and it's hard to remember everybody because we deal with a lot of people but that's where most of my, um, notes are left on accounts and I don't keep, like, a personal, um, a personal sheet

or anything like that on - on him or any other guests. It's mainly on their - their actual account."[cxx]

Casinos have advanced surveillance software which is also in the hands of the Department of Homeland Security, and they share their information not only with other casinos but with law enforcement. The sharing goes both ways, as casinos often have information that law enforcement wants, and law enforcement has information and technology that casinos use.

Suffice to say, every casino that Paddock frequented was collecting a wealth of information on him and his personal habits. The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN), a division of the Department of Treasury, collects much information on gamblers in their search for money launderers. This information is run through several databases and often shared with multiple government agencies.[cxxi] Casinos filed over 200 "suspicious activity" reports on Stephen Paddock with FinCEN, as they are legally required to do with certain kinds of transactions, particularly ones involving more than $10,000.[cxxii]

At this point we need to look at Paddock's activities leading up to the massacre. His girlfriend Marilou Danley said that he started acquiring guns about a year before the event, and his behavior began to change. He would often lie in bed, moaning and screaming, and was prescribed Valium for his moods. He spent several months leading up to the massacre researching other areas to commit the massacre, trying to find the location with the most amount of people.[cxxiii]

During this year Paddock frequented gun shows, where he purchased the ammunition and guns he would use in the attack. One Arizona man named Douglas Haig was prosecuted after the massacre for selling Paddock armor-piercing ammunition without a license (Haig's name and address were found on an Amazon box in Paddock's suite). The people Paddock met while at these gun shows, and the communications he may have had with them, are still unclear; in his rooms were four laptops and three cell phones, which were given to the FBI for analysis.[cxxiv] In August 2017, Haig sold 40 or 50 rounds of ammunition to Paddock at a Las Vegas gun show; the next month, he met Paddock again at a gun show in Phoenix and since he didn't

have the ammunition Paddock wanted, invited Paddock to his house outside Phoenix a few days later, where Paddock bought 720 rounds of tracer ammunition.[cxxv] Haig was an aerospace engineer for defense contractor Honeywell and he operated a personal business called Specialized Military Ammunition with a partner who was not named by the government in the criminal complaint and was not prosecuted.[cxxvi] Haig claimed to have no idea what Paddock was planning.

Could Paddock have been in contact with informants at one of these gun shows? In October of 2016 the California Rifle and Pistol Association released a warning about the government's invasive practices:

"For over 10 years, NRA and CRPA have been warning gun show attendees about undercover police working at gun shows in California, Nevada, and Arizona. Every violation of the law at a gun show is politicized and ultimately used by the gun ban lobby to advance its cultural and political war against civilian firearms ownership. It’s more important than ever to ensure that any firearm transactions are properly processed by a licensed firearms dealer, and that gun owners refuse to participate in illegal transactions. Just last year, the American Civil Liberties Union obtained information on a secretive program between the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives to track gun show attendance using automatic license plate readers. DEA emails stated that their 'Phoenix Division Office is working closely with ATF on attacking the guns going to [redacted] and the gun shows, to include programs/operation with LPRs at the gun shows.' In its response to the discovery, DEA was quick to deny that the activity was taking place, stating that the program was merely a 'proposal' and was 'never' implemented."[cxxvii]

The ATF tells the public that its mission is benign:

"ATF is a law enforcement agency in the United States’ Department of Justice that protects our communities from violent criminals, criminal organizations, the illegal use and trafficking of firearms, the illegal use and storage of explosives, acts of arson and bombings, acts of terrorism, and the illegal diversion of alcohol and tobacco products. We partner with

communities, industries, law enforcement, and public safety agencies to safeguard the public we serve through information sharing, training, research, and use of technology."[cxxviii]

But is this what they are really doing? At a congressional hearing in 2017, Michael Horowitz, Insepctor General of the DOJ at the time, said the following:

"Over the past 2 years, my office has issued reports on ATF's and DEA's oversight of its confidential informant programs. ATF managed over 1,800 active informants as of January 2016, spending approximately $4.3 million annually on its program, while DEA managed about 18,000 informants during a recent 5-year period and paid about 9,000 of them approximately $237 million. Our audit last month of ATF's confidential informant program found that it required significant improvement, especially its management of relevant confidential informant information, tracking of payments to confidential informants, and oversight of higher risk confidential informants. In particular, we found that ATF maintained important information in a compartmentalized way that made it difficult to assess whether an informant was providing information that assisted ATF investigations and to identify and track total payments made to an informant with sufficient accuracy or reliability. In addition, we found that ATF's Confidential Informant Review Committee had not always met as scheduled, had not always reviewed and opined on all informant files provided toit for review, and may not have appropriately reviewed all long-term confidential informants."[cxxix]

So we see that there are many ways that the ATF's informants are keeping tabs on gun owners. But apparently they're not even making America safer in the process. On January 23, 2017, Trump's first day in office, ATF official Ronald B. Turk circulated a white paper to fellow officials which according to the Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence, "reads as a gun lobby wishlist for the new administration." Its contents included "recommendations to make it easier to sell firearms at gun shows, to loosen restrictions on importing assault weapons, and to reclassify silencers to make them more widely available to the general public."[cxxx] Agency capture is a long tradition in American politics, so it shouldn't be surprising

that the ATF works for the interests of the industry it is supposed to be regulating, and is doing everything it can to increase sales, even as their informants do everything they can to make more money by entrapping gun owners and tobacco farmers. Just like in the FBI, the world of ATF informants is the wild west, where criminals and desperate immigrants are coerced and threatened into entrapping anyone they can by stirring up illegal plots and then (some of the time) reporting them to the feds. But these informants are also technically allowed to break the law in the course of their duties. A September 2015 report from the Government Accountability Office found that as of 2013, there were 16,000 government informants and that they were very poorly monitored, and that there were a wide array of illegal activities they were permitted to commit, including acts of violence, involvement in political corruption, and the manufacturing and trafficking of controlled substances.[cxxxi]

So who was Paddock in contact with in the days leading up to the massacre?

In 2023 the FBI released their files on the massacre, and they were so heavily redacted that the Las Vegas Review-Journal asked what the bureau was hiding.[cxxxii] But we can still see tantalizing evidence that Paddock was not the loner he was made out to be. These cryptic reports paint a more complicated picture of what happened to him.[cxxxiii]

One acquaintance reported that Paddock was upset at the way casinos were treating him and other high rollers and that the pressure had caused him to snap. There is no evidence that Paddock ever complained to the casinos about this, however - and Paddock was known to be very vocal about his needs and demands from the casinos. He clearly felt that as a high roller he had certain entitlements, and he was not shy about this.

Another report states that "Separately, Las Vegas seeks identifiers of (redacted) due to his possible contact with Paddock due to the fact that (redacted) may have attempted to enter Paddock's room." Another states that "As part of the investigation (redacted) Paddock and is currently a person of interest. Traces on (redacted) the United States, (redacted) was

originally (redacted)." It goes on: "It is also assessed (redacted) may have had contact with each other during (redacted)."

Another event, which happened a month before the massacre, provides tantalizing fragments: "During the conversation between (redacted) and Paddock, Paddock expressed anger at (redacted). Paddock threatened to kill (redacted) during the conversation with (redacted) felt this was very unlike Paddock. (Redacted) may have been attending (redacted) and opined that this could have been Paddock's motive for the shooting."

Another witness provides more clues that Paddock didn't snap - his decline was a long process:

"(Redacted) estimated that all this started about 15-20 months ago. (Redacted) stated Paddock was not in the (redacted) stated he was part of (redacted) stated he moved to (redacted)...(Redacted) stated Paddock was fascinated with the two Oklahoma City bombers and thought Adolf Hitler was a good man. Despite all (redacted) stated he did not take Paddock's threats seriously until May 31, 2017." One wonders what happened that day, and who this person was.

Another report shows that Paddock was part of some mysterious group that required an invitation:

"This group would hold events to discuss relevant topics and participate in (redacted) last spoke with (redacted) about twenty years ago. (Redacted) thought that he recognized photos of the Las Vegas shooter, Stephen Paddock, from the television reports. (Redacted) believes that he saw Paddock at one of the informal events in (redacted) with the above mentioned group. Paddock provided (redacted). Although Paddock was present at the event (redacted). Paddock may have become interested in weapons at this time. (Redacted) only recalls seeing Paddoack on (redacted) but stated that (redacted) and Paddock would have had to been invited by someone in the group. (Redacted) thought that Paddock's (redacted)."

Three months before the massacre Paddock was emailing someone about rifles. Some have speculated that he was emailing himself, since the email

addresses are similar, but this doesn't make a lot of sense to me. The affidavit, which was only released when media outlets filed lawsuits against the reluctant law enforcement agencies, said the following:

"centralpark1@live.com] sent an email to centralpark4804@gmail.com which read, 'try an ar before u buy. we have huge selection. located in the las vegas area,' Later the day, an email was received back from centralpark4804@gmail.com to [centralpark1@live.com] that read, 'we have a wide variety of optics and ammunition to try.' And lastly, [centralpark1@live.com sent an email to centralpark4804@gmail.com that read, 'for a thrill try out bumpfire ar's with a 100 round magazine.' Investigators believe these communications may have been related to the eventual attack that occurred at the Mandalay Bay in Las Vegas."[cxxxiv]

On September 29, when Marilou Danley was in the Phillipines[cxxxv], a Mandalay Bay valet attendant who was familiar with Paddock saw him emerging from a van with an Asian woman. Paddock appeared to be drunk, which is strange because from all accounts he rarely drank.[cxxxvi] Another witness saw him with an Asian woman at the noodle bar in the Mandalay Bay that same night, mistaking the woman for Danley.[cxxxvii]

And from September 28th:

"Another man noted that while he was out for an early dinner with his son the Thursday before the shooting, he had observed a man he believed to be Paddock speaking with an associate. Paddock and his companion were discussing the deadly sieges at Waco, Texas, and Ruby Ridge, Idaho, where federal agents sought to dislodge an armed cult and armed family, respectively, both with bloody results in the early 1990s."[cxxxviii] The witness's choice of the word "associate" raises questions.

Another woman saw the same men and left a statement with the LVMPD:

"2 men sat at the booth in front of us. I thought one man looked like the actor Clancy Brown. This morning I realize it was Stephen Paddock. His companion was slight build, white with Mediterranean features. I was looking at him. They were talking about Waco and 'Ruby Ridge.' I thought

they were talking about a woman. However, I have since Google 'Ruby Ridge,' the men were angry about it and ATF and the Federal government in general. They kept mentioning the 25th anniversary of Ruby Ridge. I didn't hear them planning anything. But they were speaking of things that struck me odd. That's why I remember. Things about courtroom flags having golden fringe made the not real flags (sic). At the time I just thought 'strange guys' and I wanted to leave. "[cxxxix]

The identity of Paddock's companion is still a mystery - but the fact that they were together just days before the massacre, discussing the same right-wing grievances that motivated Timothy McVeigh, and the fact that this man has never come forward, speaks volumes.

One man's brief encounter with Paddock raises even more questions about the shooter's behavior. About month before the massacre, an unemployed chef met Paddock in the parking lot of a Bass Pro Shop in Las Vegas to sell him schematics to enable semi-automatic guns to fire automatically. He later recalled that Paddock lectured him about similar topics.[cxl] As he told the LVMPD:

"I met him in the parking lot there and he wanted me to make him, you know, the auto sear. He didn't say how many, he just told me he'd give me several hundred dollars apiece. Eh, we finally came to that, uh, he said he'd give me $500 apiece. I told him, 'No I'm old - too old to be spending the rest of my life in federal prison, you know, and that I didn't make 'em. I only s- would sell the schematics if he was interested.' Uh, he wasn't interested in that. He kept carrying on about, um, just, uh, antigovernment stuff, uh, FEMA camps, uh, about, um - uh, he was saying how Katrina - he'd asked me if I remembered Katrina and said, um, 'Well did..' He said, 'That was just a dry run for law enforcement and military to start kickin' down doors and, um - uh, confiscating guns.' And it kind of stuck in my mind about oh I mean - I - you but, I mean, he was kind of fanatical about this stuff and I just figured he's ano- another internet nut, you know, watching too much of it and believing too much of it. And, um, he kept on going on about it and which kinda kept turnin me off about the guy, you know. Um, told him once more that I would only sell the schematics for it, I didn't want anything to do with makin' 'em. Which I'm glad I didn't. Uh,

even though I needed the money I was - still I had no intention of doing that. Um, he went on to uh, what was it he said, um, 'Somebody has to wake up the American public and get them to arm themselves.' And he said, 'Sometimes sacrifices have to be made.' And that's when I got up and said, 'I'm sorry, you know, we couldn't do anything together but I have to go.' And that's when I got on my bike and left. You know."[cxli]

After this experience, as he told the LVMPD, the man figured that if he was going to attract "this kind of people," he would just discontinue his advertisement and abandon the plan to sell the auto sears.

What was Paddock doing? Was he looking for fellow co-conspirators? Just trying to find a kindred soul? Or was he trying to entrap this man? Paddock, who was well-educated in all the legalities of gun ownership, would've known he was asking for something illegal. Why would he lecture a complete stranger in such a way?

We see that Paddock repeatedly told people things that raised alarms and demonstrated his psychological decline. Take the case of Paddock's mistress, a Las Vegas woman who had sex with him several times between 2013 and 2016. On September 29th he texted her the following messages: [cxlii]

I need to talk to you. Please. Call me when you get this. It'll be good to hear your voice. I need someone to talk to.

Are you still in Las Vegas? I haven't been feeling that great and have been struggling a bit lately. It would be good to just hear your voice and hear how you are doing and potentially see each other. Even just for coffee. Please consider it.

Do you still have the same number? It was worth a try. I truly hope you are well, happy and life has been good for you. You're a good person and I do appreciate everything you have done for me. You have been more than a friend to me and I am sorry for anything I've done to hurt you. All the best.

At other times he sent her even more disturbing messages:

There are so many people who don't deserve to be alive. Too many people are so concerned with themselves,' Paddock writes. 'You can be there for everyone but when you need someone there is nobody to be seen. I became a recluse for that reason. The best way to live life is with a wall between you and everyone else. So when they do hurt you, the sting isn't so bad.

People in society have become evil, self loathing, selfish and entitled. The best way to go about it just disconnecting yourself from other humans. You will always end up being hurt and disappointed. People these days are evil. I haven't been feeling that great and have been struggling a bit lately.'

In addition to this, there is the ex-convict who sent letters to Stephen Paddock between 2013 and 2017, begging him not to kill people. We don't know exactly what Paddock told this man, or very much about their friendship, but we do have the letters.[cxliii]

After the massacre the FBI apparently found these letters in a building in Texas, but has not been very forthcoming about how and why they found the letters, or what they know about their origin. What is clear is that their author is an ex-convict named Jim Nixon, who was 69 at the time, he had met Paddock around 2010, and that he had previously spent time in prison in Texas for tax fraud. Interestingly, Paddock had been a tax attorney and he had helped his family members do their taxes. After the massacre Paddock's brother speculated that Paddock may have destroyed the hard drives to his computers as a final measure to protect authorities from learning that he had committed tax fraud while doing their taxes.[cxliv]

From the letters we see that Paddock explicitly told Nixon that he wanted to kill people and that he was going to do it in public at a very crowded place and he wanted Nixon's help in finding events where there would be lots of people. Nixon went to prison in Arkansas immediately after writing the last letter.

To provide an interesting level of political context, Steve Sisolak, who was Clark County commissioner at the time of the massacre and later became governor of Nevada, wasn't told about these letters until he had left office, in 2023 when the Las Vegas Review-Journal queried the LVMPD about them (although the letters were referred to in the FBI documents released in

March 2023). In 2022, Sisolak was defeated by Joe Lombardo, who was the Sheriff of Clark County during the massacre and a big supporter of Donald Trump's presidential campaign (incidentally, Lombardo has served as the Vice-Chair of the Nevada Commission for Homeland Security and Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy Associates)[cxlv]. Sisolak publically complained about the fact that he was never told about the letters, and Nixon himself never told authorities about what Paddock had told him. So clearly the LVMPD is not eager to get certain information out to the public, for whatever reason.

So what did Nixon tell Paddock?

On May 27, 2017 Nixon wrote “I can get someone for you who can help you. Please don’t go out shooting or hurting people who did nothing to you. I am concern about the way you are talking and believe you are going to do something very bad. Steve please please don’t do what I think you are going to do.”

From June 1, 2017: “My friend it sound like you are going to kill or murder someone or some people. Please whatever it is I would like to talk to you about it and we can discuss it. Please don’t go on any shooting rampage like some fool.”

What happened to Stephen Paddock? Why did he spiral downward in this way? What made him so angry? Was he pushed by outside forces, or was it some combination of his age, his right wing conspiracy theories, and his gambling addiction?

What's clear to me is that on October 1, 2017 multiple people were involved in an event of mass killing and psychological terror; Stephen Paddock could have easily been accessed, surveilled, and encouraged by the government both electronically and in person; he was in contact with multiple people who have not come forward or who were reluctant to come forward; and the LVMPD and the FBI has covered up much of the information that would help us figure out what happened to him and who he was in contact with.

3. The Fallout

In July 2019 the LVMPD released an "after-action review" detailing their assessment of their own response to the massacre.[cxlvi] This provides interesting clues into the larger priorities of law enforcement in its relationship to domestic terrorism. We can see that the event provided an excellent test of the strength of many aspects of the law enforcement response. As can be expected, many of the recommendations are for improved organization and more training for community organizations and private sector security forces. Some recommendations involve police snipers who can be trained to deal with a shooter at a high elevation; many of these involve an increase in live, large-scale training exercises and simulations that should be coordinated with partner agencies in the region, some involve a need for extra emergency staffing; many involve improved lines of communication and better designation of specific duties; improved use of information technology within the department; some involve new protocols on what kinds of information will be released to the public and how it should be released; increased staffing to the Public Information Office; increased federal partnerships for crime scene investigations; some praise the department's strong relationships with the FBI, ATF, DEA; and the list of recommendations goes on.

Overall, the department expresses a need for more resources, more training, better organization, more inter-agency cooperation. And it's hard to argue with them, with an event of this magnitude and this much visceral horror. But that's the point, isn't it? Who would dare argue? And with this kind of event, it is not just the LVMPD whose requests are suddenly taken seriously - it's every big city police department in the country. Because it could happen anywhere.

We've discussed the LVMPD's role in covering up certain information about the shooting and Paddock's history - and another oddity is the role of John Pelletier, who was the LVMPD's incident commander during the massacre.[cxlvii] In 2023, he happened to be the Maui police chief during the Lahaina fire disaster. After that event he repeatedly claimed that he didn't know that anyone was killed until the day after the fire. Time-stamped footage proves that he had to have known this, however; the department told the public about fatalities the day of the fire itself, and multiple officers were aware of deaths during the fire.[cxlviii]

So was the Las Vegas Massacre a left-wing plot to chip away at the 2nd Amendment and "steal our guns?" If so, it failed: In December 2021 the Nevada Supreme Court ruled that gunmakers were immune from lawsuits related to the shooting.[cxlix] Semiautomatic rifles will continue to be sold and people will continue to add bump stocks to them. The ATF will continue to monitor the gun shows as their informants run wild along with the thousands of others from the DEA, the FBI and other agencies, and in keeping with the practice of agency capture, it will continue to work on behalf of the industry it is supposed to regulate.

Mandalay Bay's owner MGM Resorts International didn't benefit from the attack: In 2020 they and their insurers shelled out $800 million to survivors of the shooting, after a Clark County District Court judge ruled on behalf of the claimants.[cl]

But who, in the end, benefits from this? Who has the moral authority to demand more resources, more respect, more militarization?

Who was the first to show up at the fairgrounds? Who broke through the door to Paddock's suite, prepared to lose their lives? Who are the heroes of this narrative? Whom are we begging to help us prevent the next attack? Who exists in a constant crisis of legitimacy? Who protects the owners of the means of production?

I think the idea of Las Vegas as a Trump-era response to to the Black Lives Matter movement is persuasive, considering the right wing's desperate backlash against BLM. What better way to restore public faith in law enforcement than an event where the public experiences colossal and helpless terror of this kind? Can you imagine a more Pavlovian reinforcement of the public's complete reliance on police? When it comes down to the idea that I could be killed at a concert, and the killing could be *totally random* - then my ideological disagreement with a militarized police force disintegrates.

In the wake of BLM, Trump became a major ringleader of the battle against diversity, equity, and inclusion, spreading overtly racist propaganda to his many social media followers and keeping it going throughout his presidency. As one article reported,

"In November 2015, Donald Trump tweeted an infographic purporting to show that Blacks were responsible for 97% of murders of Blacks and 82% of murders of Whites. Both 'statistics' are wrong, the latter monstrously so: African-Americans accounted for about 15% of murders of Whites, according to FBI data."[cli]

In September 2020, the 355,000-member Fraternal Order of the Police endorsed Trump's reelection bid, saying that "The FOP is proud to endorse a candidate who calls for law and order across our nation." One of Trump's major rallying cries during the campaign was that a Biden presidency would spread lawlessness, and he's been saying it ever since 2021.[clii]

In his efforts to appear tough on crime, and to ensure the support of the law enforcement community, Trump responded to the murder of a 4-year-old Kansas City boy named LeGend Taliferro with the much-criticized "Operation Legend." Hatched in July 2020, Trump's DOJ ended up spending $69 million to send 290 federal agents to Kansas City, Albuquerque, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Memphis, St. Louis, and Indianapolis to "crack down on crime." Attorney General William Barr claimed that the operation resulted in 6000 arrests and 1,500 criminals charged with federal crimes.[cliii]

In August 2017 Trump issued an executive order reversing Obama-era restrictions on what kinds of equipment the Department of Defense could sell to police departments, making it possible for police to purchase "grenade launchers, weaponized vehicles, bayonets, rifles, ammunition of .50 caliber or higher, and certain armored vehicles that resemble tanks."[cliv]

During the George Floyd protests in Portland in 2020, Trump sent Department of Homeland Security agents as well as Customs and Border Patrol agents to the city to grab protesters and shove them into unmarked vehicles. These people were dressed in military camouflage and wore no identifying insignia (reminiscent of the gunmen seen at both San Bernardino and Las Vegas). DHS secretary Chad Wolf referred to the protesters as extremists and anarchists, and Trump's administration's M.O. was just to treat all dissent as a threat to the United States, in Nixonian

fashion.[clv] So Las Vegas would fit into Trump's bombastic pattern of inflating the power of law enforcement.

But beyond Trump, there is a disturbing confluence that resurfaces between the Las Vegas Massacre, the San Bernardino Massacre, the Orlando nightclub shooting, and the August 2016 trip to Israel on that was arranged between the Anti-Defamation League and American law enforcement officials. On that trip were none other than LVMPD Captains Chris Tomaino (Bureau Commander for the Convention Center Area Command) and Chris Jones. The eruption of three highly suspicious mass shooting events, in concert with the weeklong anti-terrorism course presented by the IDF, is worth noting. As the ADL stated, the group "met with security experts, intelligence analysts, and commanders in the Israel National Police and Israel Defense Forces, and learned about effective methods of terror attack prevention and response."[clvi] The feedback loop of U.S. support for Israel and the IDF's involvement with our domestic terrorism saga continues. Israel's method of colonization and occupation is a disturbing model for our authorities to follow, especially given the stage-managed nature of much of the terrorism that occurs in America.

Terrorism in general pays dividends beyond the policy needs of any single administration. The government causes, creates and encourages terrorism; they use the threat of terrorism to put more and more physical resources into the hands of police departments; and then they use their carefully built legal apparatus of counterterrorism to prosecute people who protest this trend. After Atlanta revealed its plans to build its massive training center known as "Cop City," the DHS classified the protest movement "Stop Cop City" as domestic violent extremists. The cycles of terrorism, state power and the elimination of dissent are ongoing as I write this.[clvii] The "defund the police" rallying cry from 2020 is a sad joke now. A 2022 study found that since then, 91 of 109 major police departments had increased their budgets.[clviii]

My final question is a practical one: *How* could Las Vegas be an "op"? Could some secretive federal tactical strike force have encouraged Paddock, pushed him, tormented him, helped him, and participated with him in an event of monumental, theatrical horror, and then disappeared?

Yes.

In 2021 *Newsweek* revealed the existence of the Pentagon's "Signature Reduction" program, a secret army that consists of 60,000 operatives: "The force, more than ten times the size of the clandestine elements of the CIA, carries out domestic and foreign assignments, both in military uniforms and under civilian cover, in real life and online, sometimes hiding in private businesses and consultancies, some of them household name companies." [clix] The program specializes in erasing the existence, or the "signature," of secret Defense Department operatives while they conduct covert operations in America and abroad. The story got strangely little notice when it came out in 2021, and people need to know about it. The article continues:

"Signature reduction is thus at the center of not only counter-terrorism but is part of the Pentagon's shift towards great power competition with Russia and China—competition, influence, and disruption 'below the level of armed conflict,' or what the military calls warfare in the 'Gray Zone,' a space 'in the peace-conflict continuum.'"

Until we dismantle this entire rotten system, we will have only two things to help us determine what is real and what is pure theater: our own critical thinking skills, and the witnesses. The ones who know what they saw.

Epilogue: Literary Guideposts

How do we keep our sanity in such a system? As I can personally attest, it is healthy to periodically turn away from the direct study of these maddening events. A couple of years ago I was intrigued by the way the Netflix mini-series *Wormwood* made use of Hamlet as a major metaphor for the struggle of Eric Olson to learn the fate of his father Frank Olson, a government biologist for the United States Army Biological Warfare Laboratories.

The short version of the story is that Olson was given LSD against his knowledge by Sidney Gottlieb, head of the MKULTRA program, and he revealed his deep discontent with the government's use of biological weapons against Korea. The CIA then assassinated him by throwing him out of a window at the Hotel Statler in New York City.

As I learned more about parapolitics, I was teaching Hamlet in my English classes, and I couldn't help but notice the play's implications for the broader practice of studying our government's "deep events," as Peter Dale Scott refers to the JFK assassination, 9/11 etc.

Hamlet is confronted by his father's ghost, and what he learns demands immediate action: King Claudius murdered his own brother, stole his wife and now sits on his throne. Hamlet's problem is not that he can't make up his mind whether or not he should get revenge; it's that he is not sure whether the ghost was real or a demon sent to entrap him. Crucially, the ghost was previously seen by Marcellus, Horatio and Barnardo, but Hamlet hears its soliloquy alone. Can Hamlet believe his senses?

Was it just Stephen Paddock shooting alone? Did the people who saw and heard other shooters just imagine things? Was Sandra Serrano insane when she saw the girl in the polka dot dress run out of the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel? Was Sally Abdelmageed insane when she saw three men in military fatigues enter the conference room at the Inland Regional Center? She *knows what she saw*, even if the entire media tells her she is

wrong. Hamlet's struggle is our struggle, in a media landscape that constantly tells us that we are imagining things.

Hamlet goes through a process of disbelief and obsession, feigning madness so that the authorities (Polonius and Claudius) will not suspect that he knows the unspeakable truth. Whom can he trust? Not Ophelia - with all her good intentions, she is a puppet of her father, and serves as a spy of the state. Definitely not Rosencrantz and Guildenstern - for all their chummy affection, Hamlet immediately knows they've been sent to spy on him. His paranoia is justified, and all the while he is spying on the man who is spying on him, searching for signs of guilt. But how can he finally *establish* Claudius's guilt? Hamlet ASSUMES that if Claudius is guilty, he will be tormented by his foul murder. And he is correct.

Claudius's speech in Act 3, Scene 3 illustrates the dynamics of power that I have tried to describe in this book. He knows how rank his offense is, and yet, "like a man to double business bound," he is unable to rid himself of the "effects for which I did the murder" - the power he stole. He knows he will meet his ultimate reckoning in the afterlife. As David Talbot reported in *The Devil's Chessboard*, some of James Angleton's final words were similar in nature:

"The better you lied and the more you betrayed, the more likely you would be promoted. . . . Outside of their duplicity, the only thing they had in common was a desire for absolute power. I did things that, in looking back on my life, I regret. But I was part of it and loved being in it." He invoked the names of the high eminences who had run the CIA in his day—Dulles, Helms, Wisner. These men were "the grand masters," he said. "If you were in a room with them, you were in a room full of people that you had to believe would deservedly end up in hell."[clx]

Claudius's soliloquy has the same effect:

O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven;
It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,
A brother's murder!—Pray can I not,
Though inclination be as sharp as will;

My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent;
And, like a man to double business bound,
I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
And both neglect. What if this cursed hand
Were thicker than itself with brother's blood,
Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
To wash it white as snow? Whereto serves mercy
But to confront the visage of offence?
And what's in prayer but this twofold force,
To be forestalled ere we come to fall,
Or pardon'd being down? then I'll look up;
My fault is past. But, O, what form of prayer
Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murder?
That cannot be; since I am still possess'd
Of those effects for which I did the murder,—
My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
May one be pardon'd and retain the offence?
In the corrupted currents of this world
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice;
And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
Buys out the law: but 'tis not so above:
There is no shuffling, there the action lies
In his true nature; and we ourselves compell'd,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence. What then? what rests?
Try what repentance can: what can it not?
Yet what can it when one can not repent?
O wretched state! O bosom black as death!
O limed soul, that, struggling to be free,
Art more engaged! Help, angels! Make assay!
Bow, stubborn knees! and, heart with strings of steel
Be soft as sinews of the newborn babe!
All may be well!

We know that Claudius will never give up the throne. He has the power, and no amount of guilt will make him throw it away. He will die fighting anyone who tries to bring him to justice, and as he says, "the wicked prize

itself buys out the law." I can think of no better description of the relationship between terror, assassinations, and state power. By killing the king and murdering his wife, Claudius owns the state's legal apparatus and will never investigate himself. By enabling and committing acts of terror, the state buys out the law, and the public hands it over to them.

After Act 3 Hamlet is free from the labor of trying to verify his suspicions - Claudius has shown his guilt while watching the Murder of Gonzago. So the Hamlet we see in Acts 4 and 5 lacks the anxiety and the self-loathing we see in the first three acts. He has a new kind of confidence.

Hamlet is not exactly someone we should emulate - but he *is* us; he anticipates us; he is our mirror in this struggle. We are living in a kingdom where a false king sits on a stolen throne, and like Hamlet we struggle to establish guilt and act on what we know. Surrounded by spies, trusting only Horatio, Hamlet's guideposts are his own intelligence and his knowledge of what he saw.

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